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THE
CASE of SEES
VACANT

By an Unjust or Uncanonical
DEPRIVATION,

STATED

In Reply to a TREATISE
ENTITLED

A Vindication of the Deprived Bishops, &c.

TOGETHER WITH

The several other Pamphlets lately publish'd as
Answers to the BAROCCIAN TREATISE.

By HUMPHRY HODY, D. D.
Fellow of Wadh. Coll. in Oxford.

*Abstineamus nos à Convitiis ne tempus inaniter impendamus, & ad id quod agitur inter nos potius advertamus. S. Aug. Ep. ad Pascendum Comitem.
Non enim vincimur, quando offeruntur nobis meliora, sed instruimur; maxime in his, quæ ad Ecclesiæ unitatem pertinent, & spei & fidei nostra veritas. S. Cypr.*

L O N D O N,

Printed by J. H. for Henry Mortlock, at the Phoenix
in St. Paul's Church-Yard. MDCXCH.

CASE OF STILES

Imprimatur

Geo. Royse, R. R^{mo} in Christo Patri
ac D^{no} D^{no} Johanni Archiep. Can-
tuar. à Sacris Domest.

Decemb. 1. 1692.

BY HUMPHRY HODD, D.D.

Printed by R. B. for Robert Stiles, at the ...
in the Church ...

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in the Church ...

To the most Reverend Father in God

JOHN,

By Divine Providence

Lord Archbishop of CANTERBURY

His GRACE

Primate of all *England* and Metropolitan.

May it please your Grace,

THis Treatise being design'd for the Service of the Church as at present Establish'd, I presume to make your Grace this humble offer of it. It must be confest that the greatness of the Subject deserves a more able Manager : but, my Lord, that favourable Acceptance with which you were pleas'd to honour the Baroccian Treatise, has encouraged me to hope, that your Grace will likewise be pleas'd to accept of these Endeavours, and to excuse and pardon the Defects of

Your GRACE's

Most dutifull Servant,

A 2

HUMPHRY HODY.

To the READER.

bestow'd upon it, they are forced to confess by their *Practice*, that it carries with it a great deal of Strength. If to be oppos'd by seven several *Answerers*, the latter not satisfied with what the former had urged, be an Argument of *Strength* in a *Treatise*, we may still believe (and I hope it was so) that the finding it out at this juncture had something of the

I presume the Reader will expect I should give him some Account of these seven several *Answers* which have been publish'd against it. I shall lay down the Titles of 'em in the same Order as they came to my hands.

1. *The Oxford Antiquity examin'd, &c.*
2. *An Answer to a Treatise out of Ecclesiastical History, translated from an antient Greek MS. in the Publick Library at Oxford, by Humphry Hody, B. D. &c.*
3. *Epistola ad Humfredum Hody, &c. de Tractatu à Scriniis Baroccianis Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ eruto, & ab illo nuper edito, conscripta.*
4. *A farther Account of the Baroccian MS. lately publish'd at Oxford.*
5. *Reflections on the Greek MS. translated by Mr. Hody.* This is not Printed, but was put into my hands in a MS.
6. *A Vindication of the Deprived Bishops, asserting their Spiritual Rights against a Lay-Deprivation; against the Charge of Schism, &c.*

These six are profess'dly and entirely in Answer to the *Baroccian Treatise*. But the Author of this last mention'd was (I know not how) so unhappy as to mistake the *Question*. He writes against the *Treatise* as if the Design of it were to vindicate the Authority of the Civil Power in depriving Bishops: But that is not the Design of the *Treatise*; neither was it my Design in publishing it. And from this strange Mistake it comes to pass, that a great part of what that Author says is nothing at all to our Purpose.

7. *Unity of Priesthood necessary to the Unity of the Church, with some Reflections on the Oxford MS. and the Preface annex'd.*

The Vindication of the Authority of the Civil Power in Depriving a Bishop for Political Crimes, I reserve for a particular *Treatise*. My Business at present is to manage the last Proposition, that advanced by the *Baroccian Treatise*. In Reply to these several *Answers*, I here present our *Advocates* with an *Impartial History of the Church's Behaviour* (throughout all Ages) under Bishops put into the Places of others Deposed by a Lay, or otherwise Invalid, Sentence. I grant at present, that all Lay-Deprivations are invalid. I suppose the worst in all Cases. Suppose the Deprivation was not only *uncanonical*, but also *unjust*: Suppose the Depriver not only

a Lay-

To the READER.

a *Lay-man*, but *doubly* unqualified by being likewise a *Heretic*: Suppose besides, that the ejected Bishop was deprived for adhering to the *Truth*, and for opposing *Vice* or *Heresy*: Notwithstanding all this, I assert, That if he was deprived by a *Power irresistible*, a *Submission* to the present Possessor (if otherwise unexceptionable) is *lawful*, and warranted by the general Practice of the *Antients*.

It is not my Design to detain my Reader long in a *Preface*. Onely one or two things I desire of him.

If any thing here in this Treatise seem *long* and *tedious* to him, I desire he would be pleas'd to consider, that my Design was to make this Discourse as perfect as I could, that so, if possible, it might put an *End* to this *Controversie*. And if our Adversaries shall be pleas'd to publish a *Reply* to what is here writt'n, I desire he would seriously compare and weigh one Treatise with the other, consider if the *main* and *more Substantial* Parts of this Treatise are answer'd, then judge for himself, and not expect that of Course there must be another Reply. As I am not so vain as to think my self clear from Error, so neither am I conscious to my self of having been so *Careless* and *Indiligent* as to think I am often mistaken, I mean in things *material*. I hate everlasting *Wrangle*. And an Adversary that *Cavils*, and excepts against things *not material*, I shall think deserves a *Reply* as little as one that *Rails*.

'Twill be hard, I know, to perswade our Adversaries, that the *History* I here present 'em, is (what I call it) *Impartial*. But this Assurance I give 'em: *I have written nothing but what I myself believe*. That may be; perhaps they will say: But you have not written *all* that you believe: You have not told all you know. Why truly, as to that, I know not what to answer. Since the Judgments of Men are so extremely different, as that some have *falsly* said that the *Canons* I omitted, when I publish'd the *Baroccan Treatise*, are really a *Part* of that *Treatise*, and ought to have been publish'd with it; there is nothing so *impertinent* but what some or other may *fanfie* I ought to have mention'd. I cannot *promise* but that there may be more *Canons*. But least it should be suspected, that tho' I have produced many Instances for the Cause I have undertaken to defend, there are others, as good, and as many, that make against us, which I have designedly conceal'd; I shall here make this solemn Declaration: That if any of our Adversaries (I speak to all in general, but my Eye is particularly upon the learned *Vindicator*) can produce me any one single Instance from the time of *Aaron*, the first *High-priest* of the *Jews*, to this very day, of a *High priest* disown'd by the *Jews*, or a *Bishop* disown'd by the *Generality* of the *Catholick Church* for this Reason, because put into the place of another deposed by the *Civil Authority*: If they

can.

To the READER.

can shew me, I say, any one single Instance, I shall own my self obliged for the Instruction. I assure my Reader, that after a *nice* and *very curious* Search I know not one.

Should our Adversaries be able to produce such an Example (as I think they will never be able) 'twill advantage their Cause but little, especially if it be one of the later Ages, since it is not agreeable to the Practice of the Church in general. But if they are not able to produce so much as one single Example, how rashly have they acted, who have separated themselves from the Church on such an account?

I conclude in the Words of *Drusus*, which I here make my own: *Scripti hæc animo juvandi, non lædendi. Si læsi quempiam, jam me peniter. Si offendi pias aures, monitus lubenter mutabo. Si erravi uspiam, monstratur mihi error, non ero pertinax.*

Pag. 5. lin. 40. Whatsoever is *notoriously* repugnant to the Church's Interest, so as to be *necessarily* productive of very great Evils, is so far from being obliging, that it would be a Sin to act according to it. — Least that Proposition should be misunderstood; after the words, *of very great Evils*: add (I speak of Oaths of Canonical Obedience).

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Bishops deposed by the Civil Authority obliged even in common Charity to acquiesce. But whether they acquiesce or not, the Church is to submit to the present Possessor. Page 196.

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The C A S E of S E E S Vacant, by an Unjust or Uncanonical Deprivation, Stated, &c.

CHAP. I.

The Reasonableness of submitting to the present Possessor, if otherwise unexceptionable, tho' the Predecessor was unjustly or invalidly deposed by the Secular Power, demonstrated. Objections answer'd. No obligation to the contrary by the Oath of Canonical Obedience. The Authority of S. Cyprian unreasonably alleg'd by our Adversaries. The Vindicator's Notion of Heresy not at all to his Purpose.

THE Doctrine maintain'd by the Author of the *Baroccian Treatise*, is this; *That supposing a Bishop depriv'd without any Synod by the Civil Power, is unjustly depriv'd; yet neither He himself, nor the People, ought to separate from the Communion of his Successor, provided that Successor is not a Heretick.* In answer to that Treatise, it is alleg'd by some of our Adversaries, That not only *Heresy*, but *Schism* likewise, and *Excommunication* make a Person incapable of being receiv'd as a Bishop. It is manifest, says one of our * Answerers, that the Principles advanced by the Author of the *Baroccian Treatise*, make all Church-Censures ineffectual, and expose the Church to all the Mischiefs of *Erasianism*. For if a Prince should prefer an excommunicated Person to the See of the Bishop, by whom he stands excommunicated, supposing only that he was not excommunicated for *Heresy*, this Person, tho' never so justly excommunicated, must be own'd and obey'd instead of the Bishop who excommunicated him; which lodges all Church-Power in the Prince, and makes all Ecclesiastical Censures of no effect for the Benefit and Preservation of the Church, whenever he pleases. All this He very well knew was nothing at all to his Purpose, and nothing against either ours, or our Author's Cause: But he likewise knew, it would have been less to his Purpose to have told his Reader so. To avoid all impertinent Cavil, that we may not run off from the Scope and Design of our Writing, I shall take leave to alter the last Clause of the Proposition thus: *Provided that Successor be in all other Respects such whose Communion no good Catholick can justly refuse.*

* An Answer to a Treatise out of Eccles. History, &c. in the Preface.

§. 2. Having laid down fairly our Proposition, and secured it (if that may be possible) from all Cavil, We will now proceed to demonstrate the Truth of it. And this we shall do, first, from the *Reasonableness* of it; and, 2dly. from the *Authority and Practice of the Antients*; by which the *Reasonableness* of it will more certainly and evidently appear.

§. 3. First from the *Reasonableness* of it: And that is grounded on this certain and self-evident Maxim, That *whatsoever is necessary for the present Peace and Tranquillity of the Church, that ought to be made use of, provided it is not in it self sinfull, and the ill Consequences, which may possibly attend it, are either not so mischievous to the Church, or at least not so likely to happen as the Evils we endeavour to avoid.* That this was a Maxim of the *Antients*, We shall easily find, if we please but to cast our eyes back upon their Times, and consider those Methods, which were wont to be made use of in the Church. We shall find, that in all manner of Cases, They always prefer'd the *Peace and Tranquillity* of the Church to all other Things, the *Essentials* of Religion excepted. There was no *Custom or Law* of the Church so sacred and inviolable, but what they readily sacrificed, whensoever Necessity requir'd, to the *Peace and Tranquillity* of it. If the exact Observation of the receiv'd Customs and Canons of the Church was not like to conduce to the present *Peace and Tranquillity* of it, they were readily superseded, and *Necessity and Convenience* became the onely *Legislators*. To prefer a *Rule* of the Church to the *Welfare and Prosperity* of it, and to stand to the *Saying of a Father* in Opposition to a *Law of Necessity*, is a sort of *Theological Pedantry*, which They were not guilty of. They were wont to consider like truly Wise men, the *Circumstances* and the *Exigencies* of the Times; and they knew that those Customs and Canons of the Church, which were proper in the Times of Peace, could never indispensably oblige in Times of a different *Complexion*. To prevent, or to heal the Diseases of the Church, they acted like *Philosophers*, not like *Empericks*; consider'd what *ought* to be done in this and that particular Case; what was truly *expedient*, not what had been *prescrib'd* when the *Symptoms* were not the same. Tho' of all the *General Councils*, there was none so rever'd as the *Nicene*; and tho' among all the *Canons* of that Council there was none so Religiously and so Universally observ'd, as that which makes it unlawfull for any one City to have two Bishops; and altho' that had always been a

* S. Cypr. Ep. 55. ad Anton. *Ergo ille evangelii vindex, ignorabat unum Episcopum esse oportere in Ecclesia Catholica*, says Cornelius Bishop of Rome in his Epistle to Fabius of Antioch Ap. Euseb. Hist. l. 6. c. 43. concerning Novatian. To have two Bishops in one and the same City is *adversum fas Sacerdotii singularis*, says Pacianus Epist. 3. ad Sympronium Novatianum.

(a) Collat. Carthag. 1. c. 16.

(b) Theodoret Hist. Eccl. l. 5. c. 3.

(c) And by the Synod of Sirmium to the Clergy and People of Rome in the Case of Felix and Liberius, as Sozomen says, l. 4. c. 15. but that Synod was not Orthodox, but *Adrian*.

* Rule of the Catholick Church long before the time of that Council; yet S. Augustine, and all the other Catholick Bishops of Africa, thought fit to (a) propose that Expedient to their Adversaries the *Donatists*, for the putting an End to their Schism. And the same Expedient was (b) proposed (c) by Meletius Bishop of Antioch to the Anti-bishop Paulinus, for the putting an End to that Schism that was between them. Thus when Queen Chrodielede of France had made the Bishops

Bishops *Theodorus* and *Proculus* Archbishops of *Tours* (a) together, the whole *Gallican* Church (because they were both very old, and so the Inconvenience of suffering it was not like to be so great as that of opposing the Queen) edg'd 'em. And tho' it is expressly forbidden by the aforesaid (b) *Council of Nice*, and likewise by the more ancient Canons or Rules of the Church, That one Bishop alone should Ordain another; and three at least are positively requir'd by that Council, how great soever the Necessity may be; tho' it were moreover unlawfull for any one to be Ordain'd a Bishop without the Consent of the *Metropolitan*, and a Bishop so Ordain'd is declar'd (c) by that Council incapable of governing as a Bishop: Yet when *Siderius* had been ordain'd Bishop of *Palestina* by (d) the single Bishop of *Cyrene* (a bold and resolute Man, one who often transgress'd the Orders of his Superiors) and that too without the knowledge of *S. Athanasius* the *Metropolitan*; because of the badness of the Times, (it being in the Reign of the *Arian* Emperor *Valens*.) *Athanasius* allow'd of his Orders: and because he was *Orthodox*, he was so far from depriving him of his Bishoprick, that he prefer'd him to a greater. He (e) yielded, saith *Synesius*, to the Necessity of the Times. 'Tis a Saying of the same Author, (himself a Bishop, and a very great Man,) where he speaks concerning that Matter; viz. in one of his Epistles to the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, *Theophilus*: (f) In dangerous Times it is necessary not to observe Rules. Tho' nothing was more unlawfull than to be made a Bishop *Simoniacally*, or by the meer Force of the Lay-power; and tho' (as the Author of the (g) *Pontifical* attests) *Silverius* obtain'd the Popedom of *Rome* by both those unlawfull Means; yet after he was Ordain'd, the Peace of the Church requiring it, he was own'd and receiv'd by all. He had given a Summ of Money to the Tyrant *Theodatus*, the King of the *Goths*, and the Tyrant threaten'd, that whosoever refus'd to consent to his Election should be punish'd with Death. The Bishops however refus'd to subscribe, and so he was made Pope without any consent of theirs. But after he was Ordain'd (says the Author of the *Pontifical*) they subscrib'd for the sake of the Unity of the Church and of Religion. Tho' the Synod of *C.P.* before whom the Patriarch *Alexius* was accused for his having been promoted to that Dignity by the bare authority of the Emperor, without the Votes of the Clergy, lookt upon his Promotion to be altogether unlawfull; yet when he pleaded, that he had Ordain'd many Bishops, and, that if they depriv'd him, they must likewise deprive all those whom he had Ordain'd; upon that bare (h) Consideration, because to Deprive so many was likely to occasion a great Disturbance in the Church, they over-ruled the Accusation, and determin'd nothing against him. When

(a) *Greg. Turon. Hist.*
l. 10. c. 31.

very freely acknow-

(b) *Can. 4.*

(c) *Can. 6.*

(d) *Synesius Epist.*
67.

(e) Διὰ τὸ τοῦ
παμμεγαν Ἀθανάσι-
ου συγγράφου τὸ πρὸς
καίσιον.

(f) Ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη
ἔστι ἐν κατεστάσει ἀπαρ-
ησάσθαι τὴν ἀρχιερε-
αν παρὰ βίβλους.

(g) *S. Silverius* levan-
tus est à *Theodato* Ty-
ranno sine deliberati-
one Decreti: qui Theo-
datus corruptus pecu-
niâ datâ talem timo-
rem induxit Clero, ut
qui non consentirent in
eius Ordinationem gla-
dio puniretur. Qui qui-
dem Sacerdotes non sub-
scripserunt in eum se-
cundum morem anti-
quum vel Decretum
confirmaverunt ante
Ordinationem: Jam
vero ordinato sub vi
& metu *Silverio* prop-
ter adunationem Eccle-
siæ & Religionis post-
modum sic subscripse-
runt Episcopi.

(h) *Zonaras Annal.*
p. 190.

Calendious

(a) *Simplicius Papa in Epist. ad Zenonem Imp.*

* By which it is enacted, That all Bishops should be Ordain'd by Bishops of their respective Provinces. *Can. 4.*

(b) *Epist. 16. ad Acacium. Qued sicut non optavimus fieri, ita faciles excusationi quam necessitas fecit existimus, quia quod voluntarium non est, non potest vocari in castum.*

Calendion was made Patriarch of *Antioch* by the Emperor *Zeno*, and Ordain'd by *Acacius* the Patriarch of *C.P.* tho' that (a) was unlawfull by the * Canons of the Council of *Nice*, and directly contrary to the constant Custom of the Catholick Church; yet because it was done, as the Emperour and *Acacius* alleg'd, to avoid Seditions in *Antioch*, the Proceeding was approv'd of by *Simplicius* Bishop of *Rome*. Tho' I wish, (b) says he, that it had not been done, yet I easily excused it, because it was done through Necessity: For that which is not voluntary (i.e. that which is done onely for Convenience or Necessity's sake) cannot be imputed as a Fault. These Examples and Authorities may serve to shew in general, That there are no Laws or Customs of the Church so sacred, but what our Wise Forefathers thought ought to be postpon'd to the present Welfare and Prosperity of it. That the same was their Opinion in reference to our particular Case, We shall hereafter shew in its due Place.

§. 4. Our Proposition being thus establish'd on that sure Maxim, acknowledg'd (as has been shewn) by the Antients; That whatsoever is necessary for the Peace and Tranquillity of the Church, that ought to be made use of, provided that it is not in it self Sinfull; and that the ill Consequences, which may possibly attend it, are either not so mischievous to the Church, or at least not so likely to happen, as the Evils we endeavour to avoid. There are two Things which I am oblig'd to make out; First, That the Submitting to a Bishop put into the place of another unjustly Depos'd by the Civil Authority, is not in it self Sinfull: And, 2dly. That the ill Consequences, to which it is liable, are either not so mischievous to the Church, or at least not so likely to happen, as the Evils we endeavour to avoid.

§. 5. First, It is not in it self Sinfull: For if it is so, it must be so for one, or more, of these following Reasons: Either, first, because it is forbidden by some express Law of God; Or, 2dly. because it makes us *Accomplices* in the *Injustice*; Or, 3dly. because of the *Oath of Canonical Obedience*, which the inferior Clergy have taken to their Bishop, and the inferior Bishops to their Archbishop; Or, lastly, because, as one of our Adversaries, the learned *Vindicator*, contends, such a Bishop as is placed in the room of one Deposed by the Civil Authority, is in reality *no Bishop*. These Objections I shall consider distinctly.

§. 6. First, It is not against any Law of God. For as to our Case, the Scripture is altogether silent. 'Tis true, it Commands us to be obedient to our Governors, and that Command reaches as well to the *Spiritual* as to the *Temporal*: But when there are two that stand Competitors, and both claim our Obedience; to which of those two our Obedience ought to be paid, it leaves to our Wisdom to determine.

§. 7. Neither, 2dly. does it make us *Accomplices* in the *Injustice*. For if a Landlord be unjustly and invalidly dispossessed of his Estate by an Incompetent Authority, Who thinks the Tenant an *Accomplice* in the *Injustice*, because he pays his Rent to the present Possessor? Should the Clergy refuse to submit to the Bishops in possession, it could onely serve to draw down Ruin upon themselves?

It

It cannot restore those whom the State has deposed. It is not our Submitting to the present Possessors, that ejects the former; for they are already irretrievably Depos'd, since the Supreme Power is peremptory against 'em. That has publicly declar'd, that, whoever are our Bishops, the old ones shall govern us no longer. If we think the Proceeding *unjust*, 'tis enough that we remonstrate against it, and express our dissatisfaction. If that will not doe, the Good of the Publick obliges us to be quiet.

§. 8. Neither, *Thirdly*, is it *sinfull* on the account of the *Oath of Canonical Obedience*. For that is taken not *absolutely* and *unconditionally*, but with this Supposition, That the Bishop, to whom we take it, has *power* to govern us. If I take an Oath, to be faithfull or obedient to a Governour, whether *Civil* or *Ecclesiastical*, I engage myself to him as a *Governour*, that is, as one that *can govern*: If therefore he *can no longer govern*, whatsoever the Impediment is, my Obedience is no longer engag'd. As it is in the State, so it is in the Church: The Oath that is taken to a Bishop, as he is the Governour of a Church, is not taken for the sake of the Bishop, but for the Peace and good Order of the Church. 'Tis this was the *Design* of the Church when she order'd such an Oath to be taken. When therefore the Oath tends no longer to the Good of the Church, but *notoriously* to Schism, Disorder, and Confusion, it cannot any longer oblige: but is void of it self, by virtue of the Church's Intent and Design in the first Institution of it.

It is further to be consider'd, that particularly here in the Church of *England*, the *Oath of Canonical Obedience* is always taken with this Supposition, That the *Civil* Power, as well as the *Ecclesiastical*, do allow the Bishop to govern.

But let us suppose even that which in reason we ought not to suppose: Let us suppose, that the Bishop intended that the Oath should always oblige. Whatsoever was the Intent of the Bishop; That was not the Intent of the Church. And it is the Intent of the Church, not the *private* Intent of the Bishop, that gives an Obligation to the Oath. I add, That should it be both the Intent of the Bishop, and likewise the Intent of the Person who takes the Oath, that it should always oblige; should it run in these express words; *I will always adhere to you, if Depos'd by the Civil Authority, in opposition to him, whatsoever he be, that shall be put into your place*: Should any one, I say, take such an Oath as that, yet he cannot be oblig'd by it. The Oath is in it self unlawfull; 'tis a *Sin* against the Publick, repugnant to the *Will* and the *Welfare* of the Church. It would be in effect to swear thus: *I will for your sake oppose the Welfare of the Publick, and break the Union of the Church; I will leave the Communion of the Church, and adhere to you, tho' I have not any Reason to do so besides this bare Oath*. To conclude; Whatsoever is *notoriously* repugnant to the Church's interest, so as to be *necessarily* productive of *very great Evils*, is so far from being obliging, that it would be a *Sin* to act according to it.

It is granted by our Adversaries, that the Obligation of an Oath of Canonical Obedience ceases, if a Bishop is depriv'd, tho' never so *unjustly* by a *Synod*: Now what is the Reason of that? 'Tis because to adhere to a Bishop, when a *Synod* has fully deposed him, and placed another in his See, must occasion a *Division* in the Church, and disturb the *Publick*. If that is the Reason, as no one can assign any other, (at least there can be none but what is grounded on that,) then the Reason is the same in both Cases: and consequently in both

Cases

Cases the Oath will be equally void. 'Tis in vain to allege, That in the Case of a *Synod* we cease to be obliged by our Oath, because every Bishop is suppos'd to have obliged himself to submit to the Determination of a Synod, whether *just* or *unjust*; and therefore when a *Synod* has Deposed him, tho' by an unjust Sentence, his Place is truly void by virtue of his supposed *Consent*: For suppose a Bishop should have always declar'd, that he never would give his Consent, that a Synod should have Power to Depose him by an *unjust* Sentence: ought we not however to submit to the new Constituted Bishop? Our Adversaries will tell us, that we ought. But why? 'Tis because the Necessity of Government and the Peace of the Church requires it. Well then; it is certain, that it is not the Bishop's *Consent*, but *Necessity* and the *Good of the Publick* that makes our *Oath* void.

Tho' in some Respects there is a great deal of Difference between what is done by a *competent* or a *lawfull* Authority, and what is done by an *incompetent* or an *unlawfull* Authority: yet, as to our Acquiescence, in a Case of Necessity, such as is here supposed, I can see no Difference at all. The *Obligation to acquiesce* is the same in both Cases, when in both Cases the *Necessity* is the same. If a *Lord* be dispossest'd of his *Mannor* by an *Incompetent* Authority that cannot be resisted, (a *Conqueror*, suppose, or an *unlawfull Court*) Who thinks the Tenant *forsworn* for submitting to the new Possessor? Who makes any difference there between a *Competent* and an *Incompetent* Authority? And why is the *Tenant* in such a Case not *forsworn*? If he cannot (or ought not to) oppose the Intruder, yet ought he not at least to give up his *Estate*, rather than submit and do *Hommage* to the wrong Lord? 'Twill be granted, I presume, by our Adversaries, that he is neither obliged to oppose the *Intruder*, nor yet to give up his *Estate*. But why does the Oath, which he took to the *rightfull* Lord, cease to oblige him? 'Tis because when he took the Oath, he took it onely on this Supposition, That the Lord was *Possess'd* of the Mannor. The Peace and Tranquillity of the Publick, and the Good of *Tenants* in general give that *Restriction* to the Oath.

If the Bishop of a *Frontier Town* will not own the Authority of a *Conqueror*, and is therefore Deposed by that Conqueror, I desire to know of our Adversaries, whether the Clergy of that Town are perjurd if they own that Bishop whom the Conqueror thinks fit to set over 'em? If a Bishop should by the *Civil Power* be condemn'd to *perpetual* and *close* Imprisonment, or be banish'd *forever* from his Country, so as that it is impossible for him to perform the Duties of a Bishop: or should he be carried away Captive we know not where, or from whence we cannot redeem him: What then? Are we still obliged by our *Oath*, because he was Deposed by no *Synod*? When in the Beginning of the 3d. Century, * *Narcissus* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, had secretly withdrawn himself, and no Body knew what was become of him, lest the Church should

* *Euseb. Hist Eccl.*
I. 6. c. 10.

be without the Assistance of a Bishop, there was presently a new one Ordain'd. How their Bishop was *lost*, they knew not: 'Twas enough that he was gone, and did not any longer Officiate. The Church, says *S. Chrysostom*, cannot be without a Bishop. That he said to his People, when he himself was to be carried away into Banishment; and on that account he advises 'em to accept of another for their Bishop.

I easily foresee what will be the Reply of our Adversaries. They will tell us, That in such Cases we ought to presume, that the Bishop gives his *Consent* that his Successor should be acknowledged: That therefore the Oath does no longer oblige, because there is a rational Presumption, that the *banish'd*, the *imprison'd*, or the *captive Bishop*, and He of the *Frontier Town*, do remit the Obligation of it. To this I answer: 1. It is indeed to be presum'd, that a *good Bishop*, one that can say with * S. Gregory, then Bishop of C. P.

I seek not yours, but you, will readily forego his own Interest for the Welfare and Prosperity of his Flock: And since our ejected Bishops, who are (I am fully perswaded)

* Orat. 28. ἡ ζῆτα
τὰ ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' ὑμῶν.

very worthy and good Men, and real Lovers of their People, have never by any *publick* signification of their Will, laid claim to the Obedience of their People, and do not now exercise their Episcopal Power as before; in reason we ought to presume that they give their Consent that their Successors should be acknowledged. But, 2dly. let it be supposed, that the outed Governor does expressly assure his Inferiors, that he *does not* give his Consent, but still lays Claim to their Obedience. Suppose the *conquer'd*, the *banish'd*, the *imprison'd*, or the *captive Bishop* should charge his People expressly upon their Oath never to accept of any other Bishop as long as by the common Course of Nature he himself may be supposed to be living, or till they be assur'd he is dead: Let this I say be supposed, (and easy it is to be supposed,) What must be done in such Cases? Is the Church *perjur'd* if she accepts of another? Will our Adversaries say that she is? *A hard Saying! Who can bear it?* This *Presumption* of the ejected Governor's *Consent* is (I know) what is commonly alleg'd by some very learned and otherwise judicious Men, as the true and the only foundation of Acquiescence when the lawfull Governor is unjustly Depos'd by a Power *incompetent*: But that that is not the true and the only foundation, these Difficulties which I have alleg'd do (me-thinks) abundantly demonstrate. Other Men I must leave to their own ways of *Thinking*. For my part, I cannot imagine, that the *Welfare* and *Prosperity* of *Mankind* does depend upon so ticklish and uncertain a Point as that of an ejected Governor's Consent: That, if he refuses to give his Consent, all the *Church* or the *Nation* must be made a *Sacrifice* to him. It is easy to discover, upon how false a *Principle* that Notion is built. It is grounded on this, That the Oath that is taken to the Governor, is taken *only* for *his* sake; when if the true End and Design of Government were duely and impartially consider'd, it would be found (as above I observ'd) that the Oath that is taken to the Governor, is taken not *only* for *his* Good, but *chiefly* for the Good of the *Publick*; and that any Oath taken to a Governor that is *notoriously* and in a *high degree* repugnant to the Good and Prosperity of the *Publick*, so as to be *necessarily* productive of *intolerable* Evils, is in its own Nature void; because by the *Publick* it was never design'd that in such a Case it should oblige.

By the Author of a Treatise entitled; *Unity of Priesthood necessary to the Unity of Communion*, there are two Examples produced, to shew how observant the Antients were of their Oath of Canonical Obedience; which the Author calls *eminent Instances*, and proposes 'em to the Consideration of the Bishops of our Church, and *wishes they would seriously apply 'em*. The first is that of Ivo Bishop of Chartres in France, who flourish'd about 600 years ago. He being one of the *Suffragans* of the Archbishop of Sens, was desired by the Bishop of Lyons,

Lyons, who was likewise the Pope's Legate, to assist him at the Consecration of the Bishop of *Nivers*: But the Bishop of *Nivers* being a *Suffragan* to the said

* In those days the Pope's power of Ordaining Bishops in another District, without the Consent of the Metropolitan, was not own'd by the Western Church.

Archbishop of *Sens*; and that Archbishop having * never given his Consent that the Bishop of *Lyons* should Ordain a Bishop of his District, *Ivo* refuses to assist at the Consecration: And this is the reason he gives for it; Because if he should engage in such an undertaking, he should be unfaithfull to his own *Metropolitan*, and betray the Privileges allow'd that Church by the Canons as a Metropolitan Church, which by Oath he was oblig'd to maintain: *Reus fieret violata sponsionis quam Sedi Metropolitanæ fecerat.* If the Archbishop of *York* had pretended to Constitute a Bishop of the Province of *Canterbury*, without the Consent of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and a *Suffragan* of the Province of *Canterbury* had assisted in that Ordination, our Bishops would then have been able to apply this eminent Instance. But as the Case stands, they know not, I believe, how to do it: And the Author is desired, that he himself, if he can, would be pleas'd to apply it.

The other Instance is that of the Bishops of our own Country in the Reign of *William II.* There arising a great Difference between the King and *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury* about acknowledging the Pope, Whether the Archbishop could lawfully do it without the King's Consent? The Matter was refer'd to the Parliament, and the Bishops being by the King requir'd to deprive the

(a) *Dolemus quod animo tuo, Domine, satisfacere non valeamus. Primas est non modo istius regni, sed & Scotiae, & Hiberniae, necnon adjacensium Insularum, nosque Suffraganei ejus, unde patet nos rationabiliter eum judicare vel damnare nullatenus posse, etiamsi aliqua culpa in eo, quæ modo non valet, possit ostendi. P. 30.*

(b) They had before promis'd the King to Deprive *Anselm*; but, I know not how, on a sudden they took up that Opinion, which before was never heard of amongst the Bishops of England: *Præterius intellexerunt* (saith *Eadmerus*, who was there present) *quod prius non animadverterunt, nec ipsum advertere posse putaverunt; viz. Archiepiscopum Cant. à nullo hominum, nisi à solo Papâ, judicari posse vel damnari, nec ab aliquo cogi pro quâvis calumniâ cuiquam, eo excepto, contra suum Velle respondere. P. 29.*

(c) *Ait Rex, Quid igitur restat? Si eum judicare non potestis, nonne faciem omnium obedientiæ fidem*

Archbishop, they answer'd, saith *Eadmerus*, (a) That that they could not do, because he was their *Metropolitan*. 'Tis hard to conjecture what our Author intended by proposing this Example as worthy Consideration: unless it be that an Archbishop of *Canterbury* should be now above all Deprivation. He contends in his Treatise, that a Bishop ought not to be Deprived, but by Bishops; and hereby producing this Example (if he means any thing at all) he intimates, That an Archbishop cannot be Deprived by the Bishops his *Suffragans*, because of their Oath of Obedience. But whatever was our Author's meaning: certain it is, that it was not because of the Oath of Obedience that the Bishops refus'd to Deprive *Anselm*, as the King would have had 'em; but because they had at (b) that time an Opinion amongst 'em, that a *Primate* or *Metropolitan* could be judg'd and depriv'd by no one but the Pope. So far were they from thinking themselves oblig'd by their Oath not to Deprive him, that it's very (c) notorious, that, tho' he was not Depriv'd, yet they threw off all Obedience, and renounced their Subjection to him.

ac fraternæ societatis amicitiam ei denegare poteris? Hoc quidem, inquiunt, quoniam jubes, facere possumus. Properate igitur & quod dicitis citius facite, ut cum viderit se à cunctis despectum ac desolatam verscundetur & ingemiscat se Urbanum, me Domino suo contempto, secutum. Et quo ista securius faciatis, En ego primum in imperio meo penitus ei omnem securitatem, & fiduciam mei tollo, ac deinceps in illo vel de illo nulla in causâ confidere, vel eum pro Archiepiscopo aut Patre spiritali tenere volo.— Sociatis sibi Abbatibus (adds Eadmerus) Episcopi retulerunt Patri quod dixerat Rex, suam, pro voto illius, abnegationem ingerentes.— Cum propterea (answers the Arch-bishop) quod me ad B. Petri Principis Apostolorum subjectionem ac fidelitatem teno, mihi omnem subjectionem, fidem, & amicitiam, quam Primati vestro & Patri spiritali debetis, abnegatis, non rectè proceditis.

§. 9. We are next to consider that Objection which is made by the learned *Vindicator*, That a Bishop put into the place of another, deposed by the Lay-power, is in reality *no Bishop*. If this is true, then it must be granted, that we cannot be oblig'd for the sake of Union and Peace, to adhere to the present Possessor. This indeed is the Difference between our *Civil* and our *Ecclesiastical* Governors. The former are purely *Governors*, and nothing more is required in them but to be capable of *Governing*; The latter are not onely *Governors*, but are likewise the Administrators of Sacraments, and the sole Ordainers of the Clergy. It is therefore necessary, not onely that the Ecclesiastical Governor should be duly qualified for Government, but that he should be likewise endued by God Almighty with the Power of Ordaining, and of administering the holy Sacraments. Thus much must be granted: Let us now see what Argument the *Vindicator* can produce to degrade our present Possessors, and to prove 'em *no Bishops*. It is nothing but a Saying of S. Cyprian that is nothing at all to his Purpose. The Saying is this: That a *second Bishop* is *no Bishop*. 'Tis strange methinks, that so great and so worthy a Man, should pretend to raise so great and so extraordinary a Structure upon so weak a Foundation. The Occasion of the Saying was this: *Novatian*, a private Presbyter, had rais'd a Schism against *Cornelius* the lawfull Bishop of *Rome*; he had got himself to be ordain'd Bishop, tho' *Cornelius* had never been depos'd, was still the Possessor, and acknowledg'd the true and the onely Bishop of *Rome* by all the Churches of the World, both the *Western*, the *Eastern*, and the *African*; and *Novatian* was by all condemn'd as a rank and notorious Schismatick. S. Cyprian, who was always very zealous for the Unity of the Church, thus expresses himself, in his Epistle to (a) *Antonianus*, concerning him. *Cornelius*, says he, being possess'd of the See according to the Will of God, and confirm'd in it by the Consent of us all; whoever would now be a Bishop of that See, must needs be out of the Church; neither can he have any Ecclesiastical Orders, who does not continue in Unity with the Church. Whosoever he is, whatsoever he may boast of himself or pretend to, he is a prophane Person, an Alien, and not of the Church: And since there cannot be a second Bishop, where another is al-

(a) Epist. 55. Quo (gradu Cathedra Sacerdotalis) occupato de Dei voluntate, atque omnium nostrum consensu firmato; quisquis jam Episcopus fieri voluerit, foris fiat necesse est; nec habeat Ecclesiasticam Ordinationem qui Ecclesie non tenet unitatem; quisquis ille fuerit multum de se licet jactans, & sibi plurimum vindicans; profanus est, alienus est, foris est. Et cum post primum secundus esse non possit; quisquis post unum qui solus esse debeat, factus est; non jam secundus ille, sed nullus est.

ready in possession; whoſoever is made *Bishop* after another, who ought to be alone, he is not a *second*, but none. This is the place out of which the learned *Vindicator* is pleas'd to draw his Argument; with how *Logical* an Inference the judicious Reader may ſee. 'Tis ſtrange that That excellent Perſon ſhould be ſo much blinded with Prejudice, as not to be able to diſcover how vaſt a difference there is between the Caſe of our preſent Biſhops, and that of which *S. Cyprian* diſcourſes. Had *Cornelius* been depoſed by the Emperor for reſuſing to acknowledge his Authority, we have all the reaſon in the world to believe, That his Deprivation would have been lookt upon by *S. Cyprian* as very *reaſonable* and *juſt*. But let us ſtill grant, as we firſt ſuppoſed in our Queſtion, That he ought not to have been deprived by the Emperor himſelf, but by Biſhops: Yet if he had been deprived for reſuſing to acknowledge the Emperor's Authority; or if he had been upon any other account ſo deprived by the Imperial Authority, as that it would have been impoſſible for him to exerciſe his Episcopical Jurisdiction; Is it poſſible for any wiſe and unprejudiced Man to imagine, That *S. Cyprian* would have thought ſo ill of *Novatian* and his Adherents, as he did? If an Enemy of the *Roman Empire*, ſuppoſe the King of *Persia*, ſhould in *S. Cyprian's* time have taken a *Frontier City*, and the Biſhop of that City ſhould have been depoſed by him for reſuſing to ſubmit to his Authority, Who can believe that That great and wiſe Man *S. Cyprian*, would have declared a new Biſhop *no Biſhop*, and all his Adherents *Schiſmatical*? That a *second*, that is, a *Schiſmatical* Biſhop, an *Invader* of a See already fill'd and poſſeſſ'd, is no Biſhop, is confeſſ'd to be *S. Cyprian's* Doctrine: But that our Biſhops are, in the Sence of *S. Cyprian*, the *Invaders* of a See already fill'd and poſſeſſ'd, that they are *ſecundi* in his Sence, is what we utterly deny. Not a Word, not a Hint in *S. Cyprian*, from whence ſuch a thing can be inferr'd. The *Vindicator* may be pleas'd to conſider, that our preſent Poſſeſſors did not ſet up themſelves in oppoſition to ſuch as were poſſeſſ'd of their Sees; but before they pretended to be Biſhops, their Predeceſſors were made by the Supreme Civil Power *incapable of Governing*, i. e. were Depoſ'd. Again, he ought to conſider that our preſent Poſſeſſors were ſo far from *ambitiouſly invading*, like *Novatian*, the Sees of others, that they were all choſe by their reſpective Churches according to the uſual manner; viz. in the ſame manner that their Predeceſſors themſelves had been. Let us hold up the Picture, which the *Vindicator* has been pleas'd to draw, to a true Light; and then we ſhall the better ſee what a ſtrange Figure it is. The *Vindicator's* Enthymeme is this:

S. Cyprian ſays, that he is no Biſhop, but a Schiſmatick, who ambitiouſly invades a See which another is fully poſſeſſ'd of. Therefore,

S. Cyprian thought, that he is no Biſhop, but a Schiſmatick, who is choſen by the Church, according to the uſual manner, into the place of another, whom the Civil Power will not ſuffer to govern any longer, becauſe he reſuſes to own its Authority.

I add, That if a Biſhop be a *ſecundus*, and *no Biſhop*, who is put into the place of one unjuſtly depoſ'd by the Civil Authority; then it likewiſe muſt follow, that he is a *ſecundus*, and *no Biſhop*, who is put into the place of another whom

whom a *Synod* has *unjustly* depos'd. But this the learned *Vindicator* will neither himself grant; neither does he, I suppose, believe that *S. Cyprian* thought so. I say that must follow, if we seriously consider the Matter: For the only good Reason assignable, why in the former Case, the *Successor* is a *secundus*, and *no Bishop*, is this; Because the *Predecessor* has still a *Right* to the Bishoprick. Now 'tis certain, that the Reason is the same in the latter Case: For a Bishop, whom a *Synod* has *unjustly* depos'd, has still as much *Right* to his Bishoprick, as a Bishop *invalidly* depos'd by the Civil Authority. For to me 'tis absurd, that any *unjust* Sentence should take away the *Right*: tho', the Nature of Government requiring it, it is oftentimes necessary that we should submit to such a Sentence. And this (if I am not mistaken) is the common Sense of Mankind. When a Bishop is *unjustly* depriv'd by a *Synod*, we submit to his Successor; not because we imagine, that the other has no longer a *Right*, but only for *Peace sake*. That a Bishop *unjustly* depriv'd by a *Synod*, has still a *Right* to that Bishoprick, as well as a Bishop depoted by an *Incompetent* Authority, may be clearly demonstrated from this, That after he is deprived, he may be again restor'd, and his Successor be depoted by Appeal to another *Synod*: (and yet the ejected Successor is accounted a true Bishop:) Now is that done justly or not? There is no one will say it is not: And yet it is impossible that the Successor should be *justly* deprived, if the other had *no Right*.

To conclude: That a Bishop, who is put into the place of another, unjustly deprived by the Secular Power, is a *real* and *true* Bishop, will by and by appear by the Opinion and the Practice of the Antients in general. Let us now proceed to demonstrate, that, as the submitting to a Bishop, whose Predecessor was unjustly depoted by the Civil Authority, is not in itself a *Sin*; so the ill Consequences to which it may be liable, are either not so mischievous to the Church, or not so likely to happen as the Evils we endeavour to avoid.

§. 10. The Evils we endeavour to avoid are a *Schism* and a *Persecution*; two Evils as great as can possibly befall the Church. And that those two very great Evils must needs be the *certain* and the *immediate* Consequences of a *non-submission*, is too evident to any Considering Man to need any Proof. If the ill Consequences, to which a *submission* may be liable, are so great as those two Evils, but not so *certain*; or if they are so *certain*, but not so *great*, it must then be granted that, with respect to Consequences, a *Submission* is more *reasonable* than a *Non-submission*. Now if we consider those evil Consequences which may justly be charg'd upon the *Submission*, we shall find that they are so far from being both so *great* and so *certain*, that they are *neither* so *great* nor so *certain*, as those two Evils, which, by a *Non-submission*, must unavoidably be brought upon the Church.

So far indeed is the *Principle*, which we maintain, from being *necessarily* attended with any *very* ill Consequence, that it is not easy to foresee any Consequence at all that is *Evil*. As it is for the Good, the Peace, and Prosperity of the Church, that we think our selves obliged to comply, upon occasion, with the Necessity of Times: So if ever the Civil Power (which to fear in this Reign would be very unjust and unreasonable) should pretend to break in upon the *Essentials* of the Church, we should then be obliged not to yield to such Impositions. If the *evil Day* must needs come, (which God forbid!) we will keep it off as long as we can. When it necessarily comes, as now we shew our

Prudence, so we'll then prove our *Fortitude*. Not to endeavour to escape from *Damascus* when a *Basket* is fairly offer'd, would be Folly in an *Apostle*: And to run on to *Martyrdom*, when it *honestly* may be avoided, is, according to the *Sanctions* of the Primitive Christians, a *Sin*. Should a Person *absolutely unqualified* be imposed upon us for a Bishop, we are not then to accept him. If a Roman *Decius* would depose all our Bishops, and not permit us to constitute others in their places, that so he may destroy our Religion, we are not then to regard either what he does or commands. As the *Romans*, upon the Martyrdom of *Fabian*, tho', to avoid the Fury of a

* The *Roman* Clergy for that reason deferr'd the Election of *Cornelius* (above 16 Months) as they tell *S. Cyprian* in a Letter; but as soon as the Emperor had left *Rome*, they chose *Cornelius* Bishop.

Persecution, * *Propter rerum & temporum difficultates*, we might possibly deferr the Election; yet as soon as we thought it convenient, we would choose a *Cornelius* Bishop notwithstanding the Tyrant's Decrees. If an *Heretical* King *Frazamund* should command us not to Ordain any Bishops, that so the *Catholic* Religion may of Course be rooted out, and his *Heresy* onely prevail, we would then no more value that Command than the *Catholics* heretofore did; but in spite of his Edict, would get as many Bishops ordain'd as we thought convenient for the Church. But how can our Case be compared with either of these? Here is no forbidding Elections, no deposing all Bishops in general, no imposing *unqualified* Persons, no destroying of Religion, no advancing of Heresy. The onely Question here is, Whether *Paul* or *Apollos* may be follow'd, when *Cephas* is in *Prison*, and is render'd incapable of acting as an *Apostle*? Our Adversaries are resolv'd to have *Cephas*; If they cannot have him, they will neither have *Christ*. To us 'tis altogether indifferent, whether *Paul*, or *Apollos*, or *Cephas*, as long as we have *Christ*.

There is onely one Inconvenience that I can possibly foresee, which can justly be charg'd on this Principle which we advance; and that is this: That by a Submission to the present Possessor, the Civil Governor is like to be encouraged to tyrannize over the Church, and to turn out such Bishops as he does not like, whensoever he pleases, tho' never so unjustly. If that be the Objection of our Adversaries; I answer, First, That the same Inconvenience is in all manner of Government: By submitting to a Bishop who is put into the place of another, whom a *Synod* has unjustly depos'd, that *Synod* may be possibly encouraged to turn out others unjustly, as many as it does not like, tho' never to worthy. Secondly, That here in *England* it is not the Will of the Prince that can turn out a Bishop. He has all the same Securities that another Subject can have, and he cannot be deprived of his Bishoprick without a due Course of Law. If they mean that the King and the *Parliament* may by that be encouraged to Depose our Bishops at pleasure, that Supposition will be wild and extravagant. For who can imagine, that they can ever concur for the Deprivation of a Bishop, but upon a very extraordinary Occasion? There is nothing can be more manifest, than that this Inconvenience is not so likely to happen as those Evils we endeavour to avoid. These are certain and present, That onely possible. But, Thirdly, should we grant (what in reason cannot be granted) that it is as likely to happen: yet how great is the Difference? Should the State here, or in other Countries one single absolute Governor, be supposed to

to be so very dissolute, as to turn out frequently the Bishops of the Church without any just Cause; yet who can look upon that Mischief to be comparable to that of a *Schism* and a *Persecution*? What can the suffering of a few particular Men be, when compared to the Peace and Tranquillity of the whole Church besides? Our Adversaries may be pleas'd to consider, That it was not for the Bishops that the Church was establish'd; but the Bishops were appointed for the sake of the Church. It is not therefore the Welfare of the Bishops, as the Bishops are these or those Men, much less of some few particular Bishops, but the Welfare of the whole Church in general that is chiefly to be regarded.

§. 11. And thus, I hope, I have sufficiently made out what I propos'd to prove, That the submitting to a Bishop, who is put into the place of another unjustly deposed by the Civil Authority, is neither in it self a *Sin*, nor liable to ill Consequences so likely to happen as the Evils we endeavour to avoid; or, if so likely to happen, not so great and pernicious to the Church as those are. From whence it necessarily follows, That such a Submission is in it self highly *reasonable*. Which was the first Proposition we propos'd to be demonstrated. I come now to the Second General propos'd to be made out, That such a Submission is agreeable to the *Practice* of the *Antients*.

§. 12. But before I put an end to this Chapter, and proceed to the Proof of this last Proposition, there remains yet one thing more to be consider'd, and that is the Imputation of *Heresy*, which the learned *Vindicator* is pleas'd to fix upon us. Any Opinion, says the *Vindicator*, on account of which Men separate from their Ecclesiastical Governors, is *Heretical*, tho' it be not in its own nature so: And such an Opinion is not *Heretical* only, when Men designedly separate from others on that very account, because they are not of that Opinion; but also when they venture on such Practices on account of that Opinion, wherein others cannot communicate with 'em; for that very reason, because they cannot join with 'em in that Opinion. Then plainly the differing in such Opinions, makes a difference of *Communion* unavoidable; and therefore the Opinions themselves, in such a Case as this is, are Signals of different *Communions*, which will come under the Charge of *Heresy*. His meaning is, that We, maintaining this Opinion, That the Civil Power has Authority to depose a Bishop for a *Political Crime*; or, if it has no such Authority, when once it has deposed a Bishop, it is lawfull to acknowledge the Successor; and in consequence of that Opinion, submitting now to the present Possessors, are therefore *Hereticks*, because He and his Party cannot join with us in that Practice, as being of the contrary Opinion. Here it comes into my mind, what S. Jerom somewhere says, That he that can with *Patience* hear himself call'd *Heretick*, is no good *Christian*. This is true of those Heresies which were so in the Opinion of the *Antients*: But in this Case we dare to be *patient*. *Ego tibi Hereticus tu mihi*: That's all the Return we shall make. The *Vindicator*, in consequence of his Opinion, that the Civil Authority has no power to depose a Bishop; and that if a Bishop is so deposed, his Successor ought to be rejected, tho' otherwise never so worthy, adheres to the Bishops deprived, and disowns those that are put into their places. In this Practice of the *Vindicator* we cannot join with him; and for that very reason, because we cannot join with him in his Opinion. And what now follows from our Author's Notion of *Heresy*, but that he himself is a *Heretick*? It is nothing at all!

to our Purpose: But for his own sake I shall here take upon me to add, (with a *pace maximi Viri*) That this Notion of *Heresy* is a *groundless* and a *fancysfull* Notion. That he may be properly call'd a *Heretick*, who separates from the Church, because the Church is not of his Opinion, tho' the Opinion is not at all in its own nature Heretical, I grant: For there is a sort of *Heresy* which is not sinfull on the account of the Opinion maintain'd, but onely because it is a *separation* from the Church. But this I assert in opposition to what is laid down by the *Vindicator*, That to all *Heresy* (as the word is strictly taken to denote a *Sin* contradistinct to *Schism*) it is necessary that there be an *Opinion* maintain'd; which either the *Church* condemns, or for which the Person that maintains it, does of himself separate from the Church. If it be not for any *Opinion* that the *Vindicator* is divided from the Church, but onely for what is *done* by the Church, he cannot be call'd, in a strict sence, a *Heretick*, but onely a *Schismatick*.

§. 13. But to wave this Dispute, as not at all-material, and to suffer the *Vindicator*, if he pleases, to enjoy his Notion; What now is the Use he would make of it? What is his Design in advancing it? The Use he makes of it is this: He alleges the aforesaid *Heresy* as a Reason for their Separation. He tells us, That we being guilty of *Heresy*, they ought by our own Concessions to keep off from our Communion, because we our selves acknowledge that *Heresy* is a just cause of Separation. *Tho' we should admit*, says he, *that the Author of the Baroccian Treatise had been successfull in all that he has attempted: we may yet justify our adherence to the deprived Bishops, and our Separation from our Adversaries opposite Altars, and justify it too by the Doctrine of their own Author: for even he permits a Separation where Orthodoxy is concern'd, and expressly excepts this Case from the Number of those which he pretends to confute. An Heretical Bishop he calls a false Bishop, &c.* 'Tis strange that the worthy and learned *Vindicator* should be so much out in his *Logick*, as not to see the Inconsistency of what he alleges, and to offer this as a reason for their *not communicating* with us! If it is their *not communicating with us* that makes our Opinion *Heretical*, and us *Hereticks*; how do they *refuse to communicate with us* for this reason, *because we are Hereticks*? We could not be *Hereticks* according to the *Vindicator's* own Notion, 'till they *had refused to communicate with us*. So dangerous a thing it is, First to do a thing rashly, and then to *hunt for a Reason*! If this Plea of our Author is good, I would very fain know how any *Separation* can be proved to be unlawfull. Let our Author stand out a little, and dispute with our old *Dissenters*. He asks a *Dissenter*, why he separates from the Church? The *Dissenter* tells him 'tis, because the Church is *Heretical*. But why *Heretical*? Because she thinks it lawfull to oblige her Members to the use of Ceremonies, and pursuant to that Opinion she actually imposes the use of 'em. In the use of these Ceremonies (says the *Dissenter*), we cannot join with you; and for that very reason, because we cannot join with you in this Opinion, That the Church has power to impose upon its Members the use of Ceremonies: And because we cannot join with the Church in this Opinion and Practice, upon that very account the Church is *Heretical*. Thus according to our Author's own Plea: but the Plea would be vain and *Illogical*.

§. 14. But this is not all: We are not onely *Hereticks* upon that account, but, as the *Vindicator* contends, we are *Hereticks* likewise (as *Heresy* signifies an *erring*) even in *Fundamentals*. He affirms, that our Opinion is a *fundamental Error*, because (as he says) it is utterly destructive of the Church, as the Church is a *Society* distinct from the *State*. To maintain this Opinion, That for *Political Crimes* a Bishop may be lawfully Depriv'd by the Civil Authority: Or this, That supposing he cannot be lawfully so depriv'd; yet if he is deprived, it is lawfull for Peace-sake to submit to his Successor: How that is destructive of the Church, as the Church is a *Society*, I, for my part, cannot perceive. To me 'tis much more apparent, that to advance this Opinion, That a Bishop cannot be deprived by the Civil Authority for any Crime whatsoever, is destructive of all *Civil Government*, which, as well as the *Ecclesiastical*, is of God's Institution. He therefore that advances that Notion, advances a very dangerous Notion. But it is not my Business at present to engage in these Disquisitions. I shall only make bold to ask the *Vindicator* a few Questions. If he thinks that Opinion, concerning the Power of the Magistrate, a *fundamental Heresy*, and enough to justify the present *Separation*, how came it to pass that he did not leave the Communion of those, whom he knew to be the Maintainers of that Opinion, before this time? I will ask him one Question more: If the late Bishops should be again restor'd, would he then refuse to communicate with those who advance that Opinion? If he would not; then it is certain, that he does not think that enough to justify the present *Separation*. One more, and then I have done. I desire to know, if our Author knows none of his own Communion, who themselves acknowledge the Power of the Supreme Civil Governor to depose a Bishop for *Political Crimes*? 'Tis strange if he should be ignorant of what every body knows: And it is to be believ'd, that the *Fathers* themselves of his own Communion, at least some of 'em, agree with us in this Opinion, which the *Church of England* has all along to this time accounted *Orthodox*, tho' the *Vindicator* is pleas'd to declare it a *Heresy*.

But enough, and too much, of these Matters. We will leave our much honour'd Adversary to invent some other new Notion more consistent, and more usefull for his Cause: And will now proceed to enquire how *Heretical* our Forefathers were in thinking it lawfull to adhere to the present Possessor, and in acting accordingly.

C H A P. II.

That the Jewish High-priests, who were put into the places of others (unjustly) Deposed by the Civil Authority, were all along own'd and receiv'd as true High-priests. An Account of all those High-priests, from the Reign of King Solomon, to the Destruction of Jerusalem. The Instance of Abiathar and Zadok nicely examin'd. The Practice of the Jews, and God's Approbation of such High-priests a sufficient Warrant to us.

TO make it appear, that the general Practice of the *Antients*, throughout all Ages, was agreeable to ours; I shall *first* shew, That the same was the Practice of the *Jews* throughout all Ages in reference to their *High-priests*: whom *S. Cyprian*, and others of the *Fathers*, are wont to compare to our *Bishops*. *Secondly*, I shall shew, That our Saviour himself, and his Apostles, acknowledged and communicated with the High-priests of the *Jews*, as true High-priests, tho' put into the places of others unjustly turn'd out by their Governors. By which they seem to instruct us, what we ought to doe in relation to our *Bishops* or *High-priests*. And, *Thirdly*, I shall shew, That the same has been all along the general Practice of the *antient Christians*.

S. 2. I begin with the *Jews*: But before I proceed to Examples, I think it convenient to prevent an Objection that may possibly be made. This perhaps may be the Plea of our Adversaries, in answer to the Examples of the *Jewish High-priests*, That the Office of a *Bishop* amongst us is of a nature much more *Spiritual*, than the Office of those *High-priests*. To that Plea I answer; That he that considers the true and full Import of the Question now before us, will find it to be no other than this: Whether a Person duly invested with an Ecclesiastical Office of *God's own Institution and Ordinance*, being Deposed by the Lay-power, any other can lawfully succeed in that Office? Now as to *God's particular Institution and Appointment*, whatsoever otherwise the Difference may be, (which 'tis needless for us to contend about,) it is certain that the *Jewish High-priests* were rather superior than inferior to our Bishops. 'Twas by God himself, and that too in a very extraordinary manner, that the Office of the *High-priest* was instituted; and it was from God alone that he receiv'd his Authority. If therefore a Person was accepted of by God as a *true and real High-priest*, tho' put into the room of another Deposed by the Civil Authority, then a *Bishop* likewise may be *truly* a Bishop, and accordingly ought to be receiv'd, tho' put into the place of a Bishop deposed by that Power.

To this I add, That the Annual Expiation for the Sins of the whole People was to be perform'd by the High-priest. This was the chief of the federal Rites of that Religion, and that to which our Saviour's offering himself up a Sacrifice is particularly compared in the Epistle to the *Hebrews*. And this they did *ex opere operato*; so that it was of the greatest Consequence to the *Jews* to have this Divine Institution perform'd by one appointed to it by God. And tho' no provision

provision was made for Cases of Necessity, yet Necessity was understood to be a provision for itself. And it is certain these Annual Expiations were accepted of God till our Saviour's days; for that is a certain Consequence of their being still in Covenant with God, since these Expiations were the yearly renewing of that Covenant. Nor can any of the Performances of the Christian Priesthood be compared to this, unless we believe the Power of *Transubstantiating*. These Examples of the Jewish High-priests alone, were there no other to be alleged, would sufficiently warrant our Submission to our present Possessors. Let us now see what Examples those are.

§. 3. Our first Example is that of the first *High-priest* that ever we know to have been deposed, viz. of *Abiathar*. He was (a) deposed by the bare Authority of King *Solomon*, for having adhered to *Adonijah* his elder Brother, (as small a fault as could be of that nature) tho' afterwards he had submitted, and acknowledged King *Solomon's* Authority as soon as ever he was made King. Tho' *Abiathar* was thus deposed, yet *Zadok* being by the (b) same Authority placed in his room, all the Nation of the Jews, both *Priests* and *People*, submit themselves to him, and own him as *High-priest*. Even the Sons of the deposed *Abiathar*, *Jonathan* and *Ahimelech*, act as *Priests* under *Zadok*. *Josephus* in his *Jewish Antiquities* has observ'd, that this was the first Instance of a High-priest deposed. From the beginning, says he, (c) for 13 Successions there was no High-priest put into the room of another, unless deceased; after that some began to be constituted whilst their Predecessors were living. What is said by some of the *Rabbies* concerning the Deprivation of *Phineas*, the Grandson of *Aaron*, was altogether unknown * to *Josephus*; neither does it concern the Subject of this Treatise; he being depriv'd, if at all, by God's immediate Act.

being deposed by King *Solomon*, it will plainly appear to be his meaning.

* Tho' *Phineas's* Posterity were put by when *Ithamar's* obtain'd the High-priesthood, yet we ought not to conclude from thence, as the *Rabbies* usually do, That *Phineas* himself was deposed: For it might be done after his death.

It's alleged by (d) one of our Adversaries, that *Abiathar* was not deposed by the Authority of the King, but by that of the *Sanhedrin*, or great Council: And this he endeavours to evince from these two Considerations. 1. Because it is said by the *Rabbies*, that in *Capital* Causes it was lawfull onely for the *Sanhedrin* to judge the *High-priest*. 2. Because *Josephus*, the Historian, says of *Joab*, That before the King sent *Benaiah* to fall upon him, he first sent him to fetch him from the Altar, in order to bring him *εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ὡς ἀπολογισμένον* to the Seat of Judicature, there to plead his Cause. And if this Formality, says our Author, was used towards *Joab* before ever the Command was given, to have him slain; it's probable the like was

(a) After he had been High-priest 40 years, viz. during all the Reign of King *David*.

(b) And the King put *Benaiah* in the room of *Joab* over the Host, and *Zadok* the Priest did the King put in the room of *Abiathar*, 1 Kings 11. 35.

(c) L. 20. c. 8. He does not speak thus in express Terms, but to a considering Reader that knows the Story of *Abiathar's*

(d) Unity of Priesthood, &c. p. 34. 35. The Crime being Capital, and the High-priest the Criminal, we may well conclude, That before *Solomon* thrust him from the Priesthood, the *Sanhedrin* had previously judg'd & pass'd their Sentence upon him.

used towards *Adonijah*

jah, the King's Brother, before he was slain : and the like also to Abiathar before he was thrust from the Priesthood. At present it is not my Business to assert the Authority of the Civil Power in depriving a Bishop, or to shew that the Kings of Judea had Authority to deprive a High-priest : I suppose at present, That the Deprivation of Abiathar by King Solomon was irregular and unlawful ; and am onely to demonstrate, That, *de facto*, he was deposed by the bare Authority of the King. Now a thousand such little Nothings, as our Author's Presumptions and Conjectures, from what is related by Josephus concerning Joab, I shall fully and unanswerably confute by producing the Words of the

* 1 Kings 11. 26. Scripture *. Now therefore as the Lord liveth, says King Solomon, which hath established me, and set me on the Throne of David my Father, and who hath made me a house as he promised, Adonijah shall be put to death this day. And King Solomon sent by the hand of Benaiah the Son of Jehoiada, and he fell upon him that he died. And unto Abiathar the Priest said the King, Get thee to Anathoth, unto thine own Fields, for thou art worthy of death : but I will not at this time put thee to death, because thou barest the Ark of the Lord God before David my Father, and because thou hast been afflicted in all wherein my Father was afflicted. So Solomon thrust out Abiathar from being Priest unto the Lord. So likewise Josephus :

† Καὶ μεταπαύσας τὸν Βεναιάν τὸν ὄντι σωματοφύλακον ἀποκτείνειν περὶ τὰς αὐτῶν τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀδωνιά, καλῶς δὲ τὸν Ἀβιάθαρ τὸν ἱερέα, θανάτῳ μὲν, εἶπε, εὐλαί σι, τὰτε ἀλλὰ ὅσα πρὸς παῖρί με συνέκαμψ, καὶ ἡ βιωτὸς ἦν σὺν αὐτῷ μετινεύχας, αὐτὸν δὲ σοὶ τὴν πικρίαν ἐπιθήσει ταξάμενός μετ' Ἀδωνία καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖνον φρονύσαντι, μὴτε ἐνθάδε ἵδῃ, μὴτε εἰς ὅν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐμὴν, ἀλλὰ εἰς τὴν πατρίδα περὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ἦν, καὶ τὴν ἀχρὶ τελευτῆς ἔχον βίον, ἀμαρτῶν τὸ μικρὸν εἶναι δικαίως ἐν ἀξίᾳ καταλύεται μὲν ἐν ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερεικῆς τιμῆς ὁ Ἰθαμάριος δίκῃ, διὰ τὴν περὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα, καὶ ὅσα τὰ Ἀβιάθαρ πάππῳ περὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ὁ δὲ ἑλὶ. Antiq. l. 8. c. 1.

|| Not as our English Author renders it, p. 34. For since thou hast so offended me, it is not contentment that thou shouldst be in Honour with me.

(a) Mittens Benaïam, eum jussit adduci, ut in ejus judicio satisfaceret.

† And sending for Benaiah the Captain of his Guard, he commanded him to go and slay his Brother Adonijah. And calling to him the Priest Abiathar, Thy bearing the Ark, says he, with my Father, and those things which thou sufferedst in his service, deliver thee from death ; but this punishment I inflict upon thee, because thou tookest part with Adonijah. Stay thou not here, nor come into my sight any more, but go unto thy own Country, and there live till the time of thy death. For having thus sinn'd, thou art not worthy to continue in || Dignity (as High-priest.) And thus for the aforesaid Cause the Family of Ithamar was deprived of the Honour of the High-priesthood. Whatsoever was done to Joab, 'tis as clear and apparent as the Sun, That what was done to Adonijah and Abiathar, was all done on a suddain, without any manner of Judicial Process in the Sanhedrin, by the bare Authority of the King. But neither is it true that Joab was ever cited to plead his Cause in the Sanhedrin. For, first, Josephus himself does not say so, as our Author imagines : For by the word *δικαστήριον*, is not meant the Court of the Sanhedrin (that is went to be called by Josephus, not *δικαστήριον*, but *συμβούλιον*) but the King's own Tribunal, where he himself sat Judge : and so 'tis understood by both the Latin Translators. (a) Epipha-

ninus

nus Schol. and (b) *Celenius*. 2. Even that which *Josephus* does say, is not true; as appears by the words of the Scripture, which

Josephus follows and mistakes. Then tidings came to *Joab*, for *Joab* had turned after *Adonijah*, tho' he turned not after *Abshalom*; and *Joab* fled unto the Tabernacle of the Lord, and caught hold on the Horns of the Altar. And it was told King *Solomon*, that *Joab* was fled unto the Tabernacle of the Lord, and behold he is by the Altar: Then *Solomon* sent *Benaiah*, the Son of *Jeboiada*, saying, Go, fall upon him. And *Benaiah* came to the Tabernacle of the Lord, and said unto him, Thus saith the King, Come forth. And he said, Nay, but I will die here. And *Benaiah* brought the King word again, saying, Thus said *Joab*, and thus he answered me. And the King said unto him, Doe as he said, and fall upon him. It is said expressly that the King sent *Benaiah* (not to cite him to the Tribunal, but immediately) to fall upon him. These Words *Josephus*, who oftentimes mistakes the true Sense of the Scripture by trusting too much to his Memory, had forgot: And because he remember'd that *Joab* was commanded to come forth, he therefore rashly conjectured, that he was commanded to come to the Tribunal: When the Reason why he was commanded to come forth, was onely this, Because it was thought not (c) proper to shed his blood at the Altar.

(b) *Misir Benaiah qui citaret eum ad suum tribunal.*

(c) See *Exod. 21. 14.*

Much like the aforesaid Evasion of our English Author is that of the Jesuits (d) *Salianus* and (e) *Menochius*; who would needs persuade us, that what was done, was not done by King *Solomon* alone, but that *Zadok* likewise, the Priest, pass'd his Sentence upon *Abiathar*, and condemn'd him to be deprived; at least that his Consent was desired and granted for the Ratification of the King's Sentence. A wretched and a groundless Shift, that deserves not to be confuted!

(d) *Admodum quoque rationi consentaneum est etiam Sadoci Pontificis Sententiam consensumque intervenisse; à Levitis enim & Sacerdotibus maximam judiciorum partem fuisse tractatam ex pluribus locis Scripturæ constat. Annal. ad An. 3. Salomonis n. 15.*

(e) *Probabile est Sadoc sententiam consensumque intervenisse, &c. Comment. in loc.*

A third Evasion is that of the Author of a Pamphlet, entituled, *Solomon and Abiathar*, &c. "King *Solomon* (says he) did not properly and judicially deprive " *Abiathar* of the High-priesthood, but onely commanded or required him to quit it " on pain of death. For thus the words run: And unto *Abiathar* said the King, " Get thee to thy Fields at *Anathoth*, for thou art a Man of death: But this " day I will not put thee to death, because, &c. Which the LXXII. render " thus, Get thee to *Anathoth* to thy Field, for thou art a Man of death in this " very day; but I will not put thee to death, because, &c. A Man of death, " our Translation renders worthy of death; but the LXXII. render the words not " so much significative of Merit as a Menace, according to such a Paraphrase: Get " thee off to *Anathoth* to thy Field, for else thou art a Man of death this very " day; and if thou do'st so, I will not put thee to death. So that *Abiathar* " here was put to his Option, Whether he would with dishonour retire from his Office, or suffer death, this latter being in the rightful power of the King, if *Abiathar* would not yield in the former. So that *Abiathar's* Priesthood determin'd " by his own voluntary Cession, not the King's Censure. In answer to this, I need but produce the Words of the LXXII. *Αντίρρησις οὐκ εἰς Ἀναθὸθ εἰς ἀγρόν σου, ὅτι*

αὐτὸς θανάτου εἶ οὐ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ, καὶ ἐ θανάτου σι, ὅπ, &c. This (excepting the Words ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ, which are removed from the latter Clause to the antecedent,) agrees exactly with the *Hebrew*: and the natural sense of those words is no other than what we have in our English Translation, with which

(a) *Ad Ghanathoth ito tibi in domos tuas, quia Vir obnoxius occasioni tu es: sed hodie non occidam te, quia, &c.*

(b) *In Anathoth te recipe ad agrum tuum, quoniam homo es morte dignus: hodie tamen non interficiam te, eo quod, &c.*

(c) *Vade in Anathoth rus tuum, & fundi tui cultura vacato, nam homo es qui necem mereris: reverentamen non occidam te, quia, &c.*

(d) *Vade in Anathoth ad agrum tuum, equidem vir mortis es, sed hodie te non interficiam, quia, &c.*

(e) *Quonquam eiecit Salomon Abiathar ut non esset Sacerdos Domini, & Sadoc Sacerdotem posuit pro Abiathar, sensus tamen fuerit ex Aula solum Regis eiecitum Abiatharam & substitutum ei Sadocum in Sacerdotem Aula, ne ille sed hicungeretur deinceps ibi juxta Domini circam Pontificis paribus; quo ipso non prohibuit Salomon Abiathari sum exequi munus in Tabernaculo Moisaico quod stabat in Gabaon; ut exequitus illie fuerit antea Sadoc tanquam vicarius, 1. Paralip. 16. 29. Nam profecto Rex pagum Anathoth non assignavit Abiathari in carcerem 3 Reg. 2. 26. & hinc is etiamnum postea vocatur legatur Sacerdos: Sadoc & Abiathar Sacerdotes; seu Pontifices. 1 Reg. IV. 4. Hypodigm. Sect. 42. p. 290.*

ledged as the true *Aaronick* High-priest. Whether *Zadok*, when High-priest at *Gibeon*, was properly a High-priest independent of *Abiathar*, or onely *Vicarius* like our *Suffragan* Bishops, or *Chorepiscopi*, is what we cannot determine; neither are we concerned to know. Certain it is, that when he was made High-priest at *Jerusalem*, in the room of *Abiathar*, he was (f) a-

(f) 1 Chron. 29. 22. *nointed* in the same manner as others used to be, who were never High-priests before. *Abulenſis* says there are some who conclude from the Text before quoted, That *Abiathar*, by the special Clemency of the King,

(a) *De Rege eligendo & deponendo, §. 64.*

was again restor'd to the great High-priesthood of *Jerusalem*: And of this Opinion, says (a)

Frisch.

all Interpreters agree, *Josephus*, (as is plain from his Words above produced) the (a) *Chaldee Paraphrast*, the (b) *Syriack*, the (c) *Arabic*, and the (d) *Latin* Translators, together with the *Rabbinical* Commentators. Who all understand the Text of a *positive* and *authoritative* Ejection. And that it was a *positive* Command, not an *Option* proposed to *Abiathar*, but an *absolute* Deprivation, is yet more plain from the words which immediately follow: So *Solomon thrust out Abiathar, &c.* in the Greek: Καὶ ἐξέβαλε Σαλωμων τὸν Ἀβιάθαρ, &c.

Bartoldus Nihesius has another sort of Evasion. (c) He tells us, That *Abiathar* was onely turn'd out of his Office at *Jerusalem*, and forbid to officiate as High-priest at Court, where the *Ark* was fixt, nor properly deprived of the Office of High-priest. For afterwards, says he, he was permitted to officiate as High-priest at *Gibeon*, where *Zadok* himself had been formerly High-priest before he was made in his stead High-priest of the *Ark* in *Jerusalem*. And this, he thinks, may be prov'd from hence, That in the 4th. of the 2d. of *Kings*, he is rankt with *Zadok* as High-priest under *Solomon*: And *Benaiah the Son of Jehoiada* was over the *Host*. And *Sadok* and *Abiathar* were Priests. This Conjecture of *Nihesius*, were it granted to be true, would not make at all for his Cause, nor yet against ours. For still it is certain, that *Abiathar* was turn'd out at *Jerusalem*, and *Zadok* was made High-priest in his stead, and by all acknow-

Frifchmuth, was *Carthufianus*: But that is a miftake; for the Conjecture of *Carthufianus* is onely this, (b) That *Abiathar* was permitted by the King to officiate under *Zadok*, as one of the *minor* Priests. Whoever they were that were of the aforefaid Opinion, it is certain they were under a Miftake. For the Scripture obferves, that when *Abiathar* was turn'd out, and *Zadok* put in his place, the Words which God had fpoken to *Eli*, concerning the Alienation of the High-priefthood from his Family, were fulfilled. *There fhall not be* (fays God) *an * Old man in thy houfe for ever*—*I will raife me up a faithful Priest, and I will build him a fure houfe, and he fhall walk before mine anointed for ever.*

And it fhall come to pafs, that every one that is left in thy houfe, fhall come and crouch to him for a piece of filver, and a morfel of bread, and fhall fay, Put me (I pray thee) into one of the Priests Offices, that I may eat a piece of bread. This plainly demonftrates, that *Abiathar* was not again reftor'd to the great High-priefthood at *Jerufalem*: And from thence it may likewife be gather'd, that he was not permitted to officiate as High-priest at *Gibeon*. So great an Honour would hardly fuit with that Prophecy: And how is it likely, that the King would permit one whom he had banifh'd from *Jerufalem* as his Enemy, and unworthy of the High-priefthood, to officiate as High-priest at *Gibeon*, fince he himfelf (which *Nihufius* feems not to have thought on) was wont to go (c) thither, (c) *1 Reg. c. 3. v. 3, 4.* and to offer Sacrifices there, as well as at *Jerufalem*? I might add againft both thefe Opinions, as well the one as the other, that *Joſephus* knew nothing of *Abiathar's* Officiating after his Ejection: He takes it for granted, as appears by the Sentence which he makes the King pafs upon him, that he never came any more into the King's fighr, but liv'd all his life at *Anathoth*. And (d) *Abiravanel*, a learned and judicious Rabbi, is fo far from thinking that he afterwards Officiated as High-priest either at *Gibeon* or at *Jerufalem*, that he thinks he was banifh'd to *Anathoth* as to a Priſon, and was not to ftir thence upon peril of Life. And fo far was (e) *Kimchi* from being of either of the aforefaid Opinions upon the account of that Text, that he thinks *Abiathar*, who is mentioned there with *Zadok*, was not he that was Ejected, but another of that Name. 'Tis a Conjecture of (a) *R. Levi Ben Gerson*, that *Abiathar* was ſometimes permitted to Officiate in the room of *Zadok*, when-ever *Zadok* was by any Defect or Pollution made incapable of Officiating himfelf; And therefore he is rankt with *Zadok* in that Text.. (b) Others think with

(b) The King, fays he, depriv'd him, *ut Pontificali officio amplius non fungeretur, imò nec ſacerdotali ad tempus. Verumtamen poſtea fecit ei clementiam, admittendo ipſum ad Sacerdotale officium. Nam infra habetur: Zadoc & Abiathar Sacerdotes.* Com. in *1 Reg. c. 2.*

1 Sam. c. 2.

* That is, according to ſome Commentators, *There ſhall not be a High-priest, &c.*

(d) *Cir. apud Frifchmuth. §. 65. Præceptum Abiathari Salomon, ut ne pedem efferret loco ipſi assignato, Anathoth. Futurum enim aliàs, ut ſi inde ſe proripere haud dubitarent, ſanguis ejus ſit ſuper capite ejus, quemadmodum & Simeï filio Gera inſinaverat; Atque hoc conſtat ex verbis Salomonis: Sed hodie te non interficiam: quafi dicat, At interficiam te eo die, quo egredi inde quopiam auſus fueris.*

(e) *Cit. à P. Martyre in Com. ad loc. & à Frifchmuth, loco cit.*

(a) *Cit. ab eisdem.*
(b) *Nic. de Lira, Sanctius.*

Carthusianus, That therefore he is mention'd with *Zadok*, because he was admitted to Officiate as one of the *lesser* Priests. 'Tis the Opinion of others, That therefore he is mention'd with *Zadok*, because in the beginning of *Solomon's* Reign he had been High-priest: For it is

(c) See *Abulenſis* *Quæſt.* 33. in 3 Reg. c. 2. He is follow'd by *P. Marius*, *Tirinus*, à *Lapide*.

(d) The onely Objection ſeems to be this, That *Joab*, who was not actually depriv'd of his Generalſhip till *Abiathar* was of the High-prieſthood, is not there mention'd, but onely *Benaiah*. But perhaps the reaſon might be, Be-
cauſe *Joab*, who had adher'd to *Adonijah*, tho' he was not preſently depriv'd, yet he never had acted as General in the time of *Solomon*; whereas *Abiathar* had ſeveral times acted as High-prieſt.

the Title as well as if they had been the Poſſeſſors. And ſo it is now with the *Patriarchs* of *Conſtantinople*.

(e) *L. 6. de rebus Salomonis*, c. 15. n. 7.

(f) *L. 2. de Pont. c. 29. & lib. contra 8. Joſeph. Venetam.*

(g) *Deſenſ. Bellarmini*, l. 2. c. 29. & l. 2. ad *Theologos Venetos*.

(h) *Com. in loc.*

(i) *Com. in loc.*

(k) *Manuali Controverſ.* l. 5. c. 19. §. 39, 40.

filled which he ſpoke concerning the Houſe of *Eli* in *Shiloh*. In answer to this, I obſerve, firſt, That till after this

(1) See 1 Reg. c. 3.

which was after the Deprivation of *Abiathar*. 2dly. If *Solomon* had deprived *Abiathar* to this end, that he might fulfill that Prophecy of God to *Eli*; yet it would not thence follow, That he did it as a Prophet. He had heard of that

(m) *Quæſt.* 32. ad 3 Reg. cap. 2. An *Solomon* peccâſſet privando *Abiathar* ſi eum privâſſet ſolum ut compleretur Sermo Dei? *Dicen-*

dam (inquit) quod peccaret *Solomon* ſi non privaret *Abiathar* ex aliâ cauſâ. Quod patet ex duobus. 1°. Quia dato quod ſciveret Sacerdotium aliquando ceſſaturum de domo *Heli*: tamen nefeſciebat an Deus voluerat, quod ceſſaret tempore *Abiathar*, vel alterius Succeſſoris; ideo ſi privaret *Abiathar*, ageret contra conſcientiam: dubitans, an compleret Prophetiam Dei, vel ageret contra

A fifth Eviſion is that of (e) *Jo. de Pineda*, and the Card. (f) *Bellarmin*, whom the Jeſuits generally follow, as (g) *Gretſer*, (h) *Serarius*, (i) *A Lapide*, (k) *Becanus*, &c. They own that *Abiathar* was completely deprived by King *Solomon*; but, ſay they, he did not do it as King, but by a particular Commiſſion from God as a Prophet. And this they prove from that Saying of the Scripture: And *Solomon* thruſt out *Abiathar* from being Prieſt unto the Lord: that the word of the Lord might be fulfilled which he ſpoke concerning the Houſe of *Eli* in *Shiloh*. In answer to this, I obſerve, firſt, That till after this

was done King *Solomon* had no Gift of Prophecy: It appears from (1) the Scripture that he was firſt inſpir'd and made a Prophet when God appear'd to him in a Viſion at *Gibeon*: 2dly. If *Solomon* had deprived *Abiathar* to this end, that he might fulfill that Prophecy of God to *Eli*; yet it would not thence follow, That he did it as a Prophet. He had heard of that Prophecy, and ſo he might adventure of himſelf to fulfill it. It appears from (m) *Abulenſis*, that tho' in his time, and before, there

contra intentionem ejus. Secundò, peccasset Salomon isto modo, quia dato quod revelatum esset debere finire Sacerdotium domus Heli in Abiathar, non licebat ei privare Abiathar, quia aut privaret eum jure suo; sc. in quantum erat Princeps populi Dei, ad quem pertinebat infligere penas. & præmia tribuere, aut ex aliquâ concessione speciali Dei. Non primo modo, quia tunc non poterat privare Abiathar, nisi pro aliquo crimine, quia pæne regulariter pro culpis dari debent. Item non erat Abiathar de jurisdictione Salomonis quantum ad Prophetiam dictam de domo Heli: Nam Salomon & quilibet alius Princeps populi Dei erat executor Legis datæ per Moysen, quæ erat communis, Prophetiæ tamen dictæ contra aliquos erant quedam sententia particulares Dei, quarum nullus de jure erat Executor, nisi ipse Deus, aut ille cui ipse specialiter hoc demandaret, sed cum aliquis punit alium, qui non est de jurisdictione sua, peccat: ergo etiam Salomon peccasset. Secundum non fiat, quia Deus non commisit punitionem Abiathar, vel Executionem Prophetiæ ipsi Salomoni specialiter, ergo si ipse se intronitteret de executione illius, peccaret tanquam judicans in non suo territorio, vel usurpans sibi quocunque modo Jurisdictionem. Peccaret ergo Salomon quocunque modo puniret Abiathar, nisi pro aliquo crimine eum privaret, quia quantum ad istud esset de Jurisdictione sua, & sic factum est hic, nam pro crimine læsæ Majestatis privavit eum.

were some of that Opinion, That Solomon depriv'd Abiathar that he might fulfill the aforesaid Prophecy, yet they never imagin'd that he did it as a Prophet by a special Commission from God; they thought he did it of himself by his own bare Authority. 3dly, It does not appear by the Text that Solomon design'd, by deposing Abiathar, to fulfill that Prophecy of God. For those words, *That the Word of the Lord might be fulfilled*, do onely shew, that That was the design of Providence; a common mode of Expression. In the Hebrew it is, *ad implendum sermonem*: where *ad*, says Grotius, is onely ἐνεκαυτῶς, ἢ τελικῶς. neque enim hoc respiciebat Salomon. So long before Grotius, the great and judicious (a) *Abulensis*, a Bishop of their own Church. It is

(a) *Quæst. 31. in 3 Reg. cap. 2.*
Salomon non privavit Abiathar propter Prophetiam dictam contra Heli,

sed ex aliis causis, ut patet ex verbis ejus: Nam dixit, Vir quidem mortis es, sed hodie non te interficiam, & tamen referendo ad Prophetiam dictam contra Heli, non erat verum quod Abiathar esset, Vir mortis: nam licet privari posset sacerdotio, tamen mortem (ob istam prophetiam) non merebatur.

said in the Gospel of S. Matthew, that (b) *Joseph came and dwelt in a City called Nazareth*, that it might be fulfilled

(b) C. 2. v. 23.

which was spoken by the Prophets, *He shall be called a Nazarene*: That the Jews (c) *crucified Christ, parting his Garments, casting Lots*, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Prophet; *They parted my Garments among them*, &c.

(c) C. 27. v. 35.

So S. John: *The Souldiers said therefore among themselves, Let us not rent, but cast lots for it, whose it shall be*; that the Scripture might be fulfilled, which saith, &c. It is said in another place of S. John, that notwithstanding all the Miracles of Christ, yet

(d) *the Jews believed not on him*; that the Saying of *Elias* the Prophet might be fulfilled, which he spake, *Lord, who hath believed our Report*, &c. That (e) when Pilate commanded the Jews to take Jesus and Judge him according

(d) C. 12. v. 38.

(e) C. 18. v. 32.

to their Law, they said unto him, *It is not lawfull for us to put any man to death*: That the Saying of Jesus might be fulfilled, which he spake, signifying what death he should die. Who so very injudicious, as to infer from these places, that such was the End and Design of the Persons themselves? Yet as well may we infer, that

that such was here the Design of the Persons themselves, as that such was the Design of King *Solomon* deposing *Abiathar*. I shall onely add, That whereas some of the *Jesuits* do pretend to confirm their Opinion with the Authority of *Theodoret* and *Procopius Gazæus*; those Authors are so far from thinking that King *Solomon* depriv'd *Abiathar* as a Prophet, that it does not appear, that they thought he had any respect to that Prophecy. They onely say, That in depriv'ing *Abiathar*, he was *ἄστρον τῆς θεῆς περὶ ἑρμηνείας*, an Instrument (or an *Aster*) made use of by God for the fulfilling of his Prophecy.

The Jesuit *Becanus*, not very well satisfied (as it seems) with this Answer of *Bellarmin*, has besides another of his own: He tells us, That if King *Solomon* deposed *Abiathar* by his Regal Authority onely, and was not inspired by God, then he acted unlawfully; for as he was King (says he) he was not a lawfull and a competent Judge. Here now is a Man that speaks out. This is home to our Purpose. Let our Adversaries now take what Part they please. If they grant that King *Solomon* did well, then the Civil Power is a Competent Judge of a Bishop, and may lawfully deprive him if he refuses to own its Authority, or for any other Criminal Cause for which he may by Bishops be justly deprived. If, with the Jesuit *Becanus*; they say he did ill, then 'tis plain from the Scripture it self, that the whole Nation of the *Jews*, and God himself, accepted of a High-priest, who was put into the place of another *invalidly* deprived by the Civil Authority, as a true High-priest.

§. 4. For a great many Generations the High-priesthood continued in the Family of *Zadok* without the Deprivation of any. We read of no one deposed by either the Regal or any other Authority, till the time of *Onias III.* Surnamed the Pious. Of him we read in the *Breviary* of *Jason* of *Cyrene*, viz. the (a) 11. of *Maccabees*, that he was deposed by King

(a) C. 4. *Antiochus Epiphanes*, by the means of a Bribe which his Brother *Jesús* (call'd otherwise *Jason*) had offer'd for the Honour, who was thereupon

placed in his room. *Josephus*, in the (b) 12th. Book of his *Antiquities*, says *Antiochus*, conferr'd the High-priesthood on *Jason*, after the death of *Onias*. And again, in his 15th. Book he says, that *Jason* himself was the first of all the High-priests (he means after *Solomon's* time) that whilst alive were depriv'd of their Dignity. But in this *Josephus* was mistaken, as appears not

(c) See 2. *Maccab.* c. 4. v. 33, &c.

(d) Ὁς Ἀντίοχος καταλύσας τὴν Ὀνίαν τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς ἰσχύος ἀφαιρῶν αὐτὸν ἐπέστησεν ἀρχιερεῖα συνδέμενον δώσιν αὐτῷ κατ' ἐναντίον τῶν ἀλλήλων ἐξακόσια ἑξήκοντα (hi numeri corrigendi ut nimis monstrati) ὁ δὲ ἑπείσθη αὐτῷ καὶ ἀρχιερεῖσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἀφωχίσθη. c. 4.

thing

thing, that *Onias* was deposed by the King, and *Jason* for Money promoted to the High-priesthood. The contrary Custom of continuing the High-priest, during life, is call'd by (a) *Josephus* a Law; yet of any Contention occasion'd by the good and unjustly deposed *Onias*, not a word in any Author. On the contrary it appears, that he meekly submitted to Necessity; and we read no more of him till the time of the High-priest *Menelaus*, that he reprehended that ungodly High-priest for having embezzell'd the holy Vessels of the Temple, and was therefore murder'd.

§. 5. *Jason*, after the expiration of three years, was deposed by the same Authority, and by the same means by which he had been advanced; and his younger Brother *Onias*, called likewise *Menelaus*, succeeded him. He was deposed, says *Josephus*, through some * displeasure, which the King had conceived against him; by the means of a Bribe, says *Jason* of *Cyrene*, which his Brother *Menelaus* had offer'd for the Honour. Here now is an Example for our Adversaries; but a very unhappy one. There was no Sedition occasion'd by the Pious *Onias*; but *Jason*, who, after he was made High-priest, proved a very prophane and ungodly Wretch, was no sooner deposed, but he rais'd a Sedition against his Successor. He rais'd a Sedition for the Dignity of the High-priesthood, says *Eusebius*; and *Josephus* tells us, that the greater part of the People join'd with him, to that degree, that *Menelaus*, with the Chief of his Adherents, was forc'd to flee away to *Antiochus*, tho' he soon return'd and enjoy'd the High-priesthood. You will not imagine, it was any thing of Conscience, or any sense of Religion that caus'd that Sedition, or that made the major part of the People declare in the beginning for *Jason*: No certainly; That could not be, since *Jason* himself had been advanc'd to that Dignity, when his Brother and Predecessor had been unjustly depos'd, and that too by his procurement; especially since that Brother, who had been unjustly depos'd, was still living. Tho' *Menelaus* was at that time a very flagitious Villain, and ought upon that account to have been oppos'd, yet 'twas nothing but Revenge and Resentment that excit'd *Jason*; and 'twas chiefly the lewd and prophane Pastimes which the People enjoy'd under *Jason*, that made 'em adhere in the beginning to him. Read the 4th. Chapter of the 2d. of *Maccabees*, where after a History of his excessive wickedness, as it is there term'd, and an account of the Heathenish Customs to which he had debauch'd the People; he is styl'd † the ungracious *Jason*, that ungodly Wretch, and not a High-priest. There was yet another thing, which seems to have heighten'd the People's aversion to *Menelaus*, when first he was advanc'd to that Dignity; and that was his cruel and bloody Disposition. He came, says the Author of the *Maccabees*, with the King's Mandate, bringing nothing worthy of the High-priesthood, but having the fury of a cruel Tyrant, and the rage of a Savage beast. We will leave the *facta certa-*

(a) Οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοι γέ τις ἀφρέδου τὴν τιμὴν ἀπὸ πατρὸς παρλαβὼν ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ μὲν Αντίοχου ὁ Εὐφορίας ἔλυσε τὴν νόμον, &c. *Quaquam insolitum* (says *Sulpitius Severus*) *neque ante permissum cuiquam erat perpetuo Sacerdotio non fungi, sollicitus tamen Regis animus atque ager avaritiâ facile superatus est.*

* Antiq. l. 12. c. 6. Τὴν ἀγχορευσίνην ἀφρέδου, προσεργιδένθη αὐτῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ δι' αὐτὴν τῷ νεωτέρῳ αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῷ.

† Αἰετὴν τὴν αὐτοκράτορος καὶ ἐκ ἀγχορείας ἰδόντων ὑπεράλλασσαν ἀνεγνώσαν.

and beloved of God, who had formerly, in the time of a Drought, obtained Rain by his pious Prayers, and hid himself, as perceiving a Civil War coming on : Him the Jews brought into their Camp, and required him, That as he had heretofore prevented a Famine, so he would now draw down a Curse upon Aristobulus, and all those that adhered to him. When he had long refused to do it, and at last was threatened by the Multitude, he stood in the midst of 'em, and prayed thus : O God, the King of all the World, since these, who stand here with me, are thy People, and they that are besieged are thy Priests, I beseech thee not to hearken to the Prayers of either Party against the other. After he had made this Prayer, there encompassed him round about certain Villainous Jews, and they overwhelmed him with Stones. Which cruelty God immediately revenged after this manner. Whilst Aristobulus was thus besieged, the Passover comes on; in which Feast our Custom is to honour God with many Sacrifices : Now the Besieged being destitute of Sacrifices, entreated their Countrymen without, that for Money, as much as they would desire, they would supply 'em with Victims. They demand a thousand Drachms for each Victim; which Aristobulus and the Priests agree to, and let down the Money from the Wall. But they, when they had got the Money, refused to supply 'em with Victims; and proceeded so far in Impiety, as both to violate their Faith with Men, and likewise to defraud God of the Honours due unto him. The Priests therefore, who had been wronged, prayed to God that he would punish their Countrymen : And immediately it was done. For a vehement Storm so destroyed the Fruits of the whole Country, that a Measure of Wheat was sold for 15 Drachms.

Perhaps it may be said, that *Aristobulus* was accepted as a true High-priest ; not because he was the Possessor, but because *Hyrcanus* (tho' by force and compulsion) had solemnly and fully resigned to him. If this be alleged, then it follows, that *Hyrcanus* had no Right to the High-priesthood : yet he, after he was restored by the bare Authority of the Heathen *Pompey*, (tho' *Aristobulus* was depos'd * by onely the same Authority of that Conquerour) was owned again, and received as a true High-priest by all the Jews : and so he continued for the space of † 24 years.

* After he had been High-priest 3 years and as many months.

† *Josephus Antiq. l. 20. c. 8.*

True it is, that *Alexander*, the Son of *Aristobulus*, raised a War against *Hyrcanus* and the Romans. It is likewise true, that *Aristobulus* himself, having made his escape from Rome, raised another small Army, and endeavoured to re-obtain the Pontificate. But we are not to imagine, that they that joined thus with *Aristobulus*, and endeavoured to restore him, did therefore do so, because they thought the present High-priest *Hyrcanus* not truly such. It was in this Case as usually it is in other Kingdoms : where Love, hope of Gain, and a longing after Innovation, engages turbulent Spirits against the present Establishment. *Josephus* assures us, that they that joined with *Aristobulus*, were induced thereunto by the glory of his Name, the desire of Innovation, * and the hopes of Gain. And that it was onely Ambition, not any thing of Religion or Conscience, that made *Aristobulus* endeavour to recover the Government, cannot possibly be doubted by any Person of Judgment. 'Twas the King, and not the High-priest, that raised those Commotions.

* Κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν εὐκλείαν ἀποστολῶν, καὶ διὰ καὶ νῦν τῆς χαριστικῆς ἀγάπης. *Antiq. l. 14. c. 11.* ἀποστολῶν δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ νῦν τῆς ἐν ἀποστολῇ πῶς αὐτῶν καὶ δὲ ἀποστολῶν.

§. 7. After the term of 24 years, *Hircanus* was again deposed by *Antigonus*, the younger Son of *Aristobulus*; and his Ears were cut off, that by that he might be made incapable of being restored. Whether *Antigonus* himself took upon him the Function of the High-priest, together with the Government, we are not well assured. But it was not long before he himself lost his life; and *Herod* was made King of the *Jews*. And now we are come to a strange Scene of Tyranny; a surprizing Train of unjust and tyrannical Deprivations. For the future we shall find very few High-priests, but who were deposed by the Secular Governours: And of those that were deposed, very few were deposed for any just Cause: Yet still the Successor was owned both by Priests and People; as well by the learned, the *Sanhedrin*, the *Scribes*, and the *Pharisees*, as by the unlearned Multitude.

(a) *Jos. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 3.* Ἀνάνης ὁ ἀλλοτρίος ὁ καταστὰς τοῦ ἱεροῦ Ἡρώδης, says *Nicephorus Patr. in Chronol.* But that he was not ἀλλοτρίος, but both a Jew, and likewise descended from *Aaron*, is clear from *Josephus*. If he had not been a descendant from *Aaron*, the *Jews* would never have own'd him.

the King deposes *Ananelus*, and prefers *Aristobulus* to the Dignity. And after the Death of *Aristobulus*, he again restores *Ananelus*.

Jesus the Son of Phabes, who was made High-priest upon the death of *Ananelus*, was * deposed by the same King *Herod*, and *Simon the Son of Boethus* succeeded him. And for what was this done? For no other reason, but because the King had a mind to Marry *Simon's* Daughter; and he thought the Match would seem too mean for him, unless *Simon* were advanced to that Honour.

The Daughter of *Simon*, after she was married to the King, being suspected as engaged in a Conspiracy against him; her Father was (a) *Ibid. l. 15. c. 6.* for that (a) deposed. And to him succeeded *Matthias*, the Son of *Theophilus*.

Ibid. c. 8. Of this *Matthias* it is very observable, That (as *Josephus* relates) being polluted with an involuntary Uncleaness the night before the day of Expiation, on which he was to officiate in a solemn manner, he made it known; and on that account there was consecrated a new High-priest for that day to officiate in his stead. This, I say, is on this account very observable; because from thence it appears, That both *Matthias* himself, who accepted of the High-priesthood, which in justice belonged to *Jesus the Son of Phabes*, and the great Men among the *Jews*, who owned him as true High-priest, were very Religious Persons, and nice Observers of all necessary Laws. He likewise was displaced by the King upon a Suspicion, that he had given encouragement to certain Zealots, who had pull'd down a Golden Eagle which the King had set up over one of the Gates of the Temple.

Temple. In his room the King (a) placed Joazarus, the Son of Simon Boethus. Joazarus was extremely hated by all that Party, that favoured the aforesaid Zealots: They present a Petition to the Tetrarch Archelaus, the Son and Successor of King Herod, and require him in a seditious manner to displace him. But what was their Plea? Not that he was no true High-priest. Tho' in other things they shewed so much Zeal for their Laws, as even to raise a Sedition for the Vindication of 'em, and tho' their Love for the ejected High-priest was very great: yet they allege nothing at all concerning the unlawfulness of submitting to the present Possessor. They (b) onely allege, that he was not worthy of the Honour; and desire that another more worthy, any one that Archelaus thought fit, might be named to succeed him.

(a) *Ibid.* c. 15.(b) *Ibid.* c. 11.

Tho' Archelaus did not hearken to what they demanded, yet after some time he (c) deposed him upon another account; viz. because he suspected him to be somewhat concerned in the raising of a Sedition. To him succeeded his Brother Eleazar. He was likewise (d) displaced by the same Archelaus; and succeeded by Jesus the Son of Sie.

(c) *Ibid.* c. 15.(d) *Ibid.*

Joazarus, the Son of Simon Boethus, was again restored upon the Death of Jesus the Son of Sie: (So it seems; for there is no mention made, that Jesus was remov'd:) But he was again displaced (e) by Quirinus, the Roman Prefect of Syria. His Crime no other; but that, upon some account incurring the People's displeasure, there had been a Sedition raised against him. In his place was substituted

(e) *Ibid.* l. 18. c. 3.

Ananus the Son of Seth, who himself was deposed (f) by Valerius Gratus, the Roman Prefect of Judea. And Ismael the Son of Phabi, was promoted to his Dignity. Ananus flourished long after his Ejection amongst the Jews, and at the time of our Saviour's Passion was one of their Chief Priests or Rulers, under the High-priest Caiaphas, his Son-in-law. He is mentioned in the Histories of the Gospel by the Name of Annas.

(f) *Ibid.*

Ismael the Son of Phabi was likewise remov'd (g) by the same Valerius Gratus, who advanced in his stead Eleazar the Son of Ananus but now mentioned.

(g) *Ibid.*

Him likewise after a years time he deposed, (h) and promoted Simon the Son of Camith.

(h) *Ibid.*

After one year he likewise removed (i) Simon, and in his place he substituted Josephus, who was Sir-named Caiaphas.

(i) *Ibid.*

Caiaphas was (k) removed by Vitellius the Roman Prefect of Syria, and Jonathan, another Son of Ananus, was advanced to the Honour of the High-priesthood.

(k) *Ibid.* c. 6, & 7.

The same was likewise the Fate of Jonathan: For he (l) after some little time was removed by the same Governour, and his Brother Theophilus was promoted in his stead. He continued after that a worthy Patriot, and at last was (m) murder'd by the Roman Governour Felix.

(l) *Ibid.* c. 7.

(m) *Antiq.* l. 20.
cap. 6. & *de Bello*
Jud. l. 2. c. 12.

Theophilus

(b) *Antiq. lib. 19.*
cap. 5.

(c) *Ibid.*

(d) *Ibid. c. 6.*

Theophilus was (b) displaced by King *Herod Agrippa*, and *Simon* who was surnamed *Cantharas*, the Son of *Simon Boethus*, succeeded him.

Him *Agrippa* likewise (c) deposed, and promoted (d) *Matthias* a fourth Son of *Ananus*, and Brother to the High-priests, *Theophilus*, *Jonathan* and *Eleazar*. The King was desirous that *Jonathan* should be re-invested with the Honour, as more worthy of it than *Simon Cantharas*: but *Jonathan* begged to be excused, and recommended to him his Brother *Matthias*. By his Answer alone we might judge how far the *Jews* were from thinking it unlawfull to succeed one unjustly or arbitrarily deposed by the Civil Governour. *I am obliged*, says he, *to your Majesty for your Good-will to me in making me the offer of so great an Honour; but I think it sufficient, that I once wore those sacred Robes; which I cannot now receive with the same Holiness as heretofore I did, since God has judged me unworthy of 'em.* He adds, that, if the King required him, he would tell him who was far more worthy of the Honour than himself: That his Brother *Matthias* was more innocent, and free from all sort of guilt or Imputation, whom therefore he would recommend to him as fit to be preferred to the Dignity.

(a) *Ibid. c. 7.*

Matthias was himself (a) displaced by the same Prince; in his room there was substituted *Elionens* surnamed *Cantharas*, the Son of *Cantharas*.

* *Ibid. l. 20. c. 1.*

Elionens was * removed by *Herod* the Brother of King *Agrippa*; and to him succeeded *Josephus* the Son of *Cane* or *Camydus* (more truly *Camithus*, the same I suppose with *Camith* above mentioned.)

(b) *Ibid. c. 3.*

Josephus was depos'd (b) by the same *Herod*, and succeeded by *Ananias* the Son of *Nebedens*; he of whom we read in the (c) Acts of the Apostles, as sitting chief Judge in the Cause of *St. Paul*.

(c) *c. 23. v. 2.*

(d) *Antiq. l. 20.*
c. 5. & de Bello Jud.
l. 2. c. 11.

Ananias was sent (d) bound by *Namidius Quadratus*, the Roman Prefect of *Syria*, to the Emperour *Claudius* at *Rome*, there to answer for a Tumult which had been rais'd between the *Jews* and *Samaritans*. Upon that account, I suppose, he was depos'd. That he was depos'd is manifest; and he (e) flourish'd after that at *Jerusalem*, till the beginning of the War with the *Romans*: at what time he was murder'd by the *Seditious*. In his room succeeded *Ismael*, (f) the Son of *Phabei* (the same, I presume, with *Phabi*) promoted by King *Agrippa* the younger.

(e) *De Bello Jud.*
l. 2. c. 17, 18.

(f) *Antiq. l. 20.*
cap. 6.

He was sent by the *Jews* Embassadour to the Emperour *Nero*, upon a difference which happen'd between them and the King. There being detain'd as a Hostage, the King (g) promoted in his stead *Josephus*, surnam'd *Cabei*.

(g) *Ibid. l. 20. c. 7.*

(h) *Ibid.*

Him he likewise (h) deposed, and preferred *Ananus*, the Son of *Ananus*.

This *Ananus* it was that condemned *St. James*, the brother of our Saviour, with others, to be stoned. Upon which account he was

(i) *Ibid. c. 8.*

after three months (i) deposed by the same Prince. He continued,

continued, after he was deposed, a very great man amongst the Jews, and was one of their chief Commanders in the time of their Wars with the Romans; and was (k) killed at last by the seditious Zealots: highly praised by Josephus, as the chief of all the High-priests of that time, for his Justice, Love of his Country, and other excellent Qualities.

Jesus the Son of Damneus, who succeeded in the High-priesthood upon the ejection of Ananus, was (l) deposed by the same King Agrippa the younger, and succeeded by Jesus the Son of Gamaliel.

He likewise (m) was deprived by the King, and the Honour was conferred on Matthias the Son of Theophilus. In whose time there broke out that War in which Jerusalem was destroyed by the Romans.

§. 8. This is the Account which Josephus has delivered down to us, of the several Revolutions in the Jewish Pontificate, from the beginning of the Reign of King Herod. As he himself does not give us the least Hint, That he thought that they who succeeded upon an unjust or a lay-deprivation was no true High-priest; but speaks of 'em always as as true and real High-priests as any other: so it plainly appears from him, That that was likewise the Sense of all the Nation of the Jews. How arbitrarily or unjustly soever the Predecessor was deposed, both the Priests and the People submitted to the present Possessor. And He who had been unjustly deposed, tho' he came himself regularly to the Honour (which some few of 'em did,) yet raised no disturbance on the account of his Ejection; but remained at Jerusalem a Member of the Church, and peaceably communicated with his Successor in the Offices of the Temple, and the Sacrifices made to God. Jesus the Son of Damneus was the only High-priest that expressed his Resentments with any thing of undecency. Of him 'tis related by Josephus, that when he was deposed, his Resentment was such that it caused a great Animosity between him and his Successor, to that degree, that both going guarded by a company of audacious young men, they themselves not onely proceeded to publick Revilings, but their Attendants likewise threw Stones at one another. This Jesus did, as is manifest, not for any thing of Conscience, but purely through Ambition and Regret: for he himself had been promoted to the High-priesthood when another had been as unjustly deposed.

§. 9. I must not forget to mention that in the time of the Wars with the Romans, that wicked and seditious Party, who called themselves the Zealots, having fortified themselves in the Temple, and excluded Matthias the High-priest, together with all the true Patriots, who were by far the majority, chose by lot one Phannias, a wretched Country-fellow, for High-priest; pretending (though falsely) that that was the ancient method of Election, and that therefore Matthias was not regularly constituted. This was highly resented, and very deservedly, by all the orderly Party; both the Priests and the People were extremely provoked at so daring an Extravagance. How extremely flagitious and wicked those Zealots were, who took upon 'em to tyrannize, and exclude Matthias and the much major part of the People, we may learn from Josephus, throughout his whole History of the Jewish Wars: and how highly all resented:

(k) De Bello Jud.
l. 2. c. 25, & 28. &
l. 4. c. 5, 6, 7.

(l) Antiq. l. 20. c. 3.

(m) Ibid.

resented that audacious Fact of theirs in pretending of themselves to elect a High-priest, and such a one too as was altogether unworthy, the same Author (a) largely relates. *So great an Impiety*, says he, *was to them a mere Sport and Pastime. But the other Priests, who saw afar off the Law ridiculed, could not refrain from Tears, and grievously lamented for the Dissolution of the Honour of the Priest-hood. The People could not bear with so daring an Action, but attempted forthwith to dissolve the Tyranny, &c.* It is worthy our observation, that Josephus, neither in the words which he lays down as his own, nor yet in that Speech which he makes the famous Patriot *Ananus* speak to the People upon this occasion to excite 'em to the Vindication of their Laws, mentions any thing at all of *Matthias*: he does not insist on the Injury done to him; he onely complains, that a *very unworthy* Person was constituted High-priest, and that by such as had no authority to make any High-priest, a tumultuous Part of the Rabble. I observe moreover from this Example of Resentment, that the *Jews*, if they had been of Opinion, That a High-priest was no *true High-priest*, because put into the place of another deposed by the Lay-power, would not have failed to express their dislike of one so constituted: since here, in this Case, they express their Abhorrence with so much Zeal and Concern. From thence, I say, it appears, That they thought they ought to submit to a worthy Person put into the High-priesthood by the *Prince*, altho' the Predecessor was unjustly deposed and still living; tho' they thought they ought not to submit to a Person *unworthy*, whom a part of the *Rabble* should advance. Hear *Ananus* (or *Josephus* again, in his Name) expressing his Abhorrence of the violation of the Laws in this latter Case, in his Speech to the People. The People, says *Josephus*, being backward in their endeavour to suppress the Seditious, because they lookt upon 'em to be impregnable, *Ananus* stood in the midst of 'em, and looking often towards the Temple, with his eyes full of Tears, he thus spoke: Indeed, says he, 'tis my duty rather to dye, than to see the House of God so extremely profaned by the feet of flagitious Villains: But yet I live arrayed with the Sacerdotal Vestment, and called by the most holy and venerable of all Names. I seem to be desirous of Life, and do not prefer a glorious Death. If I must be alone, and you leave me, I alone will give up my Soul for the Cause of God.

C H A P. III.

That our Saviour himself, and his Apostles, acknowledged and communicated with those High-priests, who were put into the places of others unjustly deposed by the Civil Authority, as true High-priests. Mr. Selden's Conjecture, That in the Histories of the New Testament, as often as there is mention made of the High-priest, is to be understood not the High-priest, properly so called, but the Prince of the Sanedrin, confuted. A Reply to an Answer of our Adversaries, concerning the Reason why the Jews, our Saviour, and the Apostles submitted to the present Possessor.

W^E come now to the Second Part of our Historical Inquiry; to shew, That not onely the *Jews*, but likewise our *Saviour* himself, and his *Apostles*, acknowledged and submitted to the present High-priests, tho' put into the Places of others unjustly deposed by the Civil Authority. Which *Practice* of theirs is a *Rule* to us. *First* of all, I observe, That tho' *Caiaphas*, who enjoyed the High-priesthood all the time of our Saviour's Preaching, was advanced upon the unjust Deprivation of another; and altho' for many Successions there was no High-priest but what had been so promoted; and the *Jews*, both the Priests and the People, had all along acknowledged their Authority and the Validity of their Sacrifices, yet our Saviour never gave the least Hint concerning the Illegality of those High-priests. If he had not thought those High-priests as *true* High-priests as the rest, he would doubtless have took some occasion to express his dislike of so great a *prophanation*; especially since he knew what an Influence this Example and Practice of the *Jews* must of course have upon his own Followers in future Ages in relation to their Bishops. Had our Saviour intended, that a Bishop in those Circumstances should not be acknowledged by his Followers; it is highly probable, that he would have given us an Instruction to the contrary, by expressing some dislike of so great a Prophanation of the High-priesthood. *Secondly*, I observe, That our Saviour does not onely not reprove the *Jews* for their owning those High-priests; but, he himself likewise communicated all along with 'em, and *expressly* owns their Authority. When he was before the High-priest (a) *Caiaphas*, and was struck by an Officer for answering (a) *S John c. 18. v. 22.* the High-priest in a manner that seemed not agreeable, and was ask'd how he *dare'd to answer the High-priest so*; tho' that was a very fair occasion, yet he does not deny his Authority, but expressly owns it by this Reply: *If I have spoken Evil, bear witness of the Evil; but if well, why smitest thou me?* *Thirdly*, I observe, That tho' *Ananias* the High-priest had been advanced in the same manner with *Caiaphas*; viz. in the room of another whom the Civil Governour had arbitrarily deposed; yet *S. Paul*, the Apostle, expressly owns his Authority, and acknowledges he was *God's High-priest*. When through

Ignorance (according to some Commentators) or *Inconsiderateness* he had spoken *revilingly* to him, and was ask'd how he dar'd to revile him, being *God's High-priest*, he approves of the Title that was given him, and repents of his speaking so rashly: * *I wist not, Brethren, that it was the High-priest: For it is written, Thou shalt not speak Evil of the Ruler of thy People.*

* Acts 23. 5.

§. 2. It may possibly be alleg'd in reply to what has been urg'd, That our Saviour and S. Paul did not own the Authority of Caiaphas and Ananias, as *High-priests* properly so call'd, but onely as they were *Magistrates* and *Princes* at that time of their great Council the *Sanedrin*. And it is indeed the Conjecture of our famous and learned Mr. Selden, that in all places of the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, where there is mention made of the *High-priest*, we are not to understand the *High-priest*, properly so call'd, but the chief Governour of the *Sanedrin*; and where there is mention of two *High-priests* together, we ought to understand the two chief Rulers of the *Sanedrin*; viz. the *Prince* and the *Father* of the *Sanedrin*, as they were wont to be called. The full of his Conjecture is this; That in those times when the *Jews* were governed by *Roman* Prefects, the *High-priest*, properly so called, had not, as *High-priest*, any Power or Authority in *Judicial* Matters: That, if he had any, 'twas onely by virtue of his Office in the *Sanedrin*, as *Prince* or *Father* of that Council. And hence, says he, it was, that tho' Caiaphas was the onely *High-priest*, properly so called, when our Saviour began to preach his Gospel; yet 'tis said in S. Luke, that *Annas* and *Caiaphas* were then the *High-priests*. *Annas*, says Mr. Selden, is there mentioned *first*, because he was at that time the *Prince* of the *Sanedrin*, and *Caiaphas* onely the *Father*. After that, at the time of our Saviour's Passion, *Caiaphas* was the *Prince*, and *Annas* onely the *Father*: And therefore when our Saviour was first led to *Annas*, he sent him away to *Caiaphas* as his Superiour. And on this account likewise it is said in the Gospel of S. John, that *Caiaphas* was the *High-priest* that same year. After that again, *Annas* was the *Prince*, and *Caiaphas* onely the *Father*: And hence it is said in the Acts; And *Annas* the *High-priest*, and *Caiaphas*, and *John*, and *Alexander*, tho' *Caiaphas* was at that time in the proper and original sence the (onely) *High-priest*.

To this I answer; First, That if we granted Mr. Selden's Conjecture to be true, tho' we could not conclude by the words above mentioned, that our Saviour owned *Caiaphas* as a true *High-priest*, properly so called; yet still our Observation would hold good, That our Saviour himself communicated with the *High-priest* of that Age, and does not any where hint, That they that in his time Officiated in the Temple as *High-priests*, were not truly *High-priests*. And it would however appear, that S. Paul acknowledged the reality of the then *High-priests*, so call'd in the proper and original Sence; since he owned himself in an Errour, as soon as he was told, that the Person whom he had reviled was *GOD's High-priest*. For by the Title of *GOD's High-priest* the Ecclesiastical Office was pointed out to him.

Secondly, I deny Mr. Selden's Conjecture to be true. And against it I offer these following Considerations. First, Neither *Josephus*, nor any other Jewish Writer, does any where tell us, that the *High-priests*, properly so called, were deprived

deprived by the *Romans* of their Power and Authority in * Judicial Matters, and confined to the Offices of the Temple. Mr. Selden does not pretend to the Authority of any Writer. And *Josephus*, had there been any such thing, would scarce have fail'd to have mention'd it; especially since he mentions, that in such and such Parts of *Judea* there were Courts of Judicature erected by the *Romans*. Secondly, *Josephus* is so far from warranting any such Opinion, that, on the contrary, he speaks throughout his whole *History* of the High-priests, properly so called, as of Persons of great Power and Authority in Civil Affairs. What he says of *Ananus* the younger is very express. Having said that the King had deprived *Josephus Cabei* of the High-priesthood, and substituted in his place *Ananus* the Son of *Ananus*; he immediately adds, † *The younger Ananus, who was constituted, as we said, High-priest, was a man of a rigid and severe Temper, by Sect a Sadducee; which sort of men is the most severe of all Jews in Judicial Matters. Being of that disposition, he took an opportunity, after Festus (the Governour's) death, before (his Successour) Albinus was arrived in Judea, to call a Council of the Judges, and commanding James, the Brother of Jesus, to be brought before him, he condemned him, together with some others, and delivered 'em to the People to be stoned to death. This thing extremely displeased all those of the City that were well disposed and zealous for the Law; and they privately sent Messengers to the King to entreat him to lay his Commands upon Ananus not to do the like for the future, it being a thing that he ought not to have done. Some moreover went to meet Albinus as he came from Alexandria, and suggested to him, That it was not lawfull for Ananus, without his Consent, to call a Council, (That it was not lawfull for the Jews, without the particular Consent of the Governour, to sit Judges in a Capital Cause.) Hereupon Albinus wrote angrily to the High-priest, and threatned him for what he had done. And after three months King Agrippa deprived him for that Fact of the High-priesthood, and bestowed the Dignity on Jesus the Son of Damnaeus.* Here seems to be a plain Intimation, that the High-priest, as such, had authority in Civil Affairs; tho' neither he, nor any other of the Jews, might, without the Consent of the Roman Governour, sit Judge in a Capital Cause. Thirdly, It is likewise confirmed by that frequent and continual Changing of the High-priest under the *Romans*. For if the High-priests, properly so call'd, were, as such, concerned about the Sacrifices onely, not at all in Matters of Government, how could they so frequently come under the Displeasure of the supreme Civil Governour? Why so frequently turn'd out of their Places? Fourthly, When *S. Paul* was told that the Person, whom he had revild, was *God's High-priest*; that is, High-priest properly so call'd; he strait infers, That then he was the Ruler of the People. Fifthly, Those difficult places of Scripture, on which Mr. Selden's Conjecture is bottom'd, may well admit of another Explication.

I am so far from denying that the two chief Rulers, the Prince and the Father of the *Sanedrin*, might commonly be honour'd with the Title of *High-priests*, that I almost perfwade my self, that in those later Times that Title was common to all those of the *Sacerdotal* Order who were Members of the *Sanedrin*.

* Excepting Capital Causes; which were prohibited by the *Romans*, not onely to the High-priest properly so call'd, but likewise to the *Sanedrin* it self. For it was not lawfull for the Jews, when under the Government of the *Romans*, to put any man to death.

† *Antiq. l. 20. c. 8.*

drin. But on this I do not rely. I have one thing more to offer, to account for those many High-priests which are mentioned as flourishing at the same time. Which is this: That the 24 * Chief

* With this Notion agrees very well that Relation in Josephus concerning the High-priests in the time of King Agrippa, Antiq. 1.20. c. 6. *Es ipsi summi Pontifices diffidere caperunt à Sacerdotibus & primatibus Hierosolymitanorum Civium.* — In tantum autem exarsit summorum Pontificum impudentia, ut auderent servos suos in areas mittere, qui auferrent debitas Sacerdotibus decimas, aliquotque pauperiores à sacerdotum ordine alimentorum inopia fame deficerent.

† De hoc vide Lightfooti Heb. & Talmud. exercitat. in S. Lucam, c. 1. v. 5.

the Custom of the Priest's Office, his Lot was to burn incense when he went into the Temple of the Lord. This is plainly according to the Order and Division made by King David, in the 24th. of 1 Chron. where the Household of Abia is mentioned as the 8th. principal Household of the Priests. Neither ought it to be objected, that in that place of S. Luke, Zacharias is call'd onely Priest, not High or Chief-priest: For even the High-priest himself, properly so call'd, is oftentimes call'd by the bare Title of Priest.

That in those days there were many at the same time entitled High-priests, is apparent from a great many Places both of the New Testament, and likewise of Josephus. That those learned Men are mistaken, who think that those many High-priests who are mentioned by Josephus, and in the New Testament, as flourishing at the same time, were onely the Expontifices, i. e. those who had formerly been High-priests, and were then deprived of their Dignity, but not of the Title; That that, I say, is a Mistake, is plain from many places of Josephus. For he often calls those Men High-priests, who, 'tis certain, had never been

|| *Οτι δὲ οὐκ ἄλλοι οὐκ Ἀρχιερεῶν, Γαμαλά μὲν Ἰησοῦς, Ἀνάνου δὲ Ἀνανῶ.

ἱερεῖς, High-priest, Ibid. c. 6. & ult. & l. 7. c. 29. for he and Ananus are the

* P. 1013. Τὸν γὰρ Γαμαλιήλ Σίμωνα Ἰησοῦν τὸν τῷ Γαμαλά.

rent Men. In the same Book (viz. the Life of Josephus) Simon the Son of Gamaliel, is said to be ὃς ἐρχετο, one of the High-priests. So again, de Bel. Jud.

l. 2. c. 42. *Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν Σαπφᾶ ᾧ ἀρχιερέων ἦτα*, *Jesus the Son of Sappha, one of the High-priests*. Yet 'tis certain, that neither of these had been *High-priest* properly so call'd. Again, l. 7. c. 4. * our Author *Josephus* calls himself, and one *Jesus* (the Son of *Thebuti*) *High-priests*. That in that place by *Josephus* and *Jesus* the *High-priests*, he means *himself* and *Jesus the Son of Thebuti*; I gather from hence, That in that place he speaks of those *Jews* who went over to the *Romans* in the time of the Wars; and says, that *Josephus* and *Jesus* the *High-priests* were two of 'em. And that he himself and *Jesus* the Son of *Thebuti* (who were both *Priests*) went over to the *Romans*, he mentions in the Course of his History, which he does not do of any other *Josephus* or *Jesus*. In the same place he mentions *Matthias* the *High-priest*, who was killed by *Simon* the Son of *Geiora*: And the same he mentions again, l. 6. c. 33. where he tells us, † That he was the Son of *Boethus*: He was therefore distinct from both those *Matthias's* who had been *High-priests*, properly so called.

* See the Words in the following Paragraph.

† Σίμων γὰρ ὃν ἔτε Μαθθίαν δι' ὃν κατέχευε τὴν πόλιν ἀθεοσπύστον ἀνέτελε Βουδᾶ παις ἦν υἱὸς τοῦ ἐκ τῶν ἀρχιερέων, ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τῷ δυνάμει καὶ τῷ τιμῷ, l. 6. c. 33.

There are other learned Men who are of Opinion, That the Sons of the *High-priests* were wont to be honoured with that Title; and that thence it came to pass, that many *High-priests* are said to be at the same time. But this Opinion I can likewise confute by an Observation out of *Josephus*. It is the place already quoted where he mentions those *High-priests*, &c. who went over to the *Romans*. The Words are these: || *There were some* (says he) *that took their Opportunity, and went over to the Romans: Amongst them there were two High-priests, Josephus and Jesus; and some the Sons of High-priests, as the three Sons of Ismael, who was beheaded at Cyrene, and four Sons of Matthias, and one of that other Matthias, whom Simon the Son of Geiora put to death. Besides them, there went over with the High-priests many other Persons of Quality.* I observe, that in this Place the *High-priests*, whether properly or improperly so call'd, are by that Title distinguished from their *Sons*. Their *Sons* therefore were not of course call'd *High-priests*. It must therefore be some particular Station that distinguished 'em.

|| De Bel. Jud. l. 7. c. 4. ὧν ἦσαν ἀρχιερεῖς μὲν Ἰωσήφ τε καὶ Ἰησοῦς, υἱοὶ δ' ἀρχιερέων, τρεῖς μὲν Ἰσμαῶν, ἅλα τὰ κεφαλαιωθέντες ἐν Κυρηνῇ, καὶ τέσσαρες Μαθθίᾳ, καὶ εἰς ἑτέρου Μαθθίᾳ (Sic Cod. MS. Bigotii Ruffini Vertioni conionus) διαδεξὸς μὲν τῷ πατρὶ ἀπώλειαν, ὃν ὁ Γεῖωρα Σίμων ἀπέκτεινε σὺν τοῖς υἱοῖς, ὃς περιέχεται πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ἐνυγῶν τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι συμμέμεικε δαλλοῖο.

According to this Notion which I have laid down concerning the Plurality of *High-priests*, I interpret that Text of the *Acts*: *And Annas and Caiaphas, and John and Alexander, καὶ ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐν γένει ἀρχιερεῶν, and all the High-priests or Heads of the several Classes of the Priests* (who doubtless were all Members of the *Sanedrin*) were gather'd together at *Jerusalem*; taking γένος in the same sense, as when *Plato* says γένος τὸ ἡ φιλοσοφούντων, and as *Cicero* takes *familia*, when he says *Philosophorum familia*. These things I leave to the Consideration of the Learned. Let us now proceed, and see what other Explications the aforesaid Places of Scripture do admit of.

1. The *High-priests* (properly so call'd) in the time of the *Romans*, were not only very frequently displac'd, but (as it is above observ'd) those two *High-priests*

priests, who immediately preceded *Caiaphas*, had been each of 'em deposed after the expiration of *one* single year; and many of the others were permitted to govern no longer than that time. This I take to have been the occasion of that Expression in *S. John*, That * *Caiaphas* was High-priest for that year. Tho' he knew, that *Caiaphas* had enjoyed the High-priesthood both for some years before, and likewise for many years after; yet he chuses to conform his Expression to the common Mode.

I might offer likewise this Conjecture, That tho' *Caiaphas* held the High-priesthood much more than a year, yet his Power and Authority was onely *annual*, and renew'd to him every year. This Conjecture may receive a Confirmation from that Tradition of the antient *Rabbies* in their † *Gemara*; who speaking of the Times of the *Hasmonei*, tell us, that in those days the High-priest was chang'd every year. Which tho' it be not true of those Times, yet it is not improbable but that it might be grounded on this, That

† Quoted by *Selden de Succes. in Pontiff.* p. 168.

a little after, under the *Romans*, at least for some time, there was some such thing; if not always an annual Change, yet an annual Confirmation.

2. When 'tis said in *S. Luke*, that the Word of God came to *John* in the time of *Annas* and *Caiaphas* the High-priests: And again in the *Acts*; and *Annas* the High-priest, and *Caiaphas*, and *John*, and *Alexander*, &c. In both places *Annas* is first mention'd, and in the latter he alone is call'd High-priest; for no other reason, but because of his great Power and Authority, because he was an *Antient*, and a more famous Man, had been formerly High-priest himself properly so call'd, was at that time the *Father-in-law* of *Caiaphas*, and his great Director and Guide. And that this was the onely Reason, we may gather from the Scripture it self: For 'tis said, that, when our Saviour was seiz'd, he was carried before *Annas* as a Magistrate; and why before *Annas*?

|| Καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν πρῶτον πρὸς Ἀναν πρῶτον ἢ γὰρ πεν-
δεκάτῃ τῇ Καίᾳ, ὅς
ἦν Ἀρχιερεὺς τῷ ἐνι-
αυτῷ ἐκείνῃ. c. 18.
v. 13.

* Δύο δὲ ἑτέροις
τοῖς δυνασταῶν καὶ
τῶν ἀρχιερέων Ἰωάν-
θαν καὶ Ἀνανίαν, τὸν-
τε τῆς πατρὸς Ἀνα-
νον, καὶ πᾶσι ἄλλοις
Ἰουδαίων νεαρίμοις ἀ-
νέστησαν ἐπὶ Καίσα-
ρα. De Bel. Jud. l. 2.
c. 11.

† Antiq. l. 20. c. 3.
& 5.

The reason is there given: || *Because* he was the High-priest's *Father-in-law*: As much as if it had been said, That therefore he was carried before *Annas*, because he, as being the High-priest's *Father-in-law*, was of very great Power and Authority. That it was an usual thing amongst the *Jews* to mention an inferior High-priest improperly so call'd, before the superior so call'd in the proper sense, and that too without any respect to any superiority on the account of some other Station, appears moreover from a certain Place in *Josephus*. * *Quadratus*, says he, the Roman Prefect, sent two of the most powerfull, who were likewise High-priests, *Jonathan* and *Ananias*; and *Ananus* *Ananias's* Son, and other noble *Jews* to *Cæsar*. *Ananias* there mentioned, in the latter place, was at that time High-priest properly so call'd, as appears from the same † Author; and *Jonathan* was one that had formerly enjoy'd that Honour. That *Jonathan* was not there mentioned before *Ananias*, because he was his Superior in some other Station (suppose as *Prince* of the *Sanedrin*) I infer from hence, that in another Place where *Josephus* speaks of the same thing, there is no men-
tion

tion at all made of Him, but onely of *Ananias*, who was High-priest properly so call'd.

* *He sent Ananias the High-priest, and Ananus the Captain, bound to Rome, there to answer before Cæsar for what had been done.* Another Example of this nature we have in the Scripture it self, where *Zadok* the inferiour is mention'd before *Abiathar* the superiour High-priest:

† *And David call'd for Zadok and Abiathar the High-priests.* Hence some have imagin'd

that *Zadok* even at that time was superiour to *Abiathar*. But the reason why he is first mention'd, is, Because by being afterwards placed in the room of *Abiathar*, and by being the first High-priest of the Temple, and by having his Posterity establish'd in the High-priesthood, he was at that time, when that Book was written, much more famous than *Abiathar*.

§. 3. To what has been said concerning our Saviour and his Apostles, that they acknowledged and communicated with the High-priests of that Age as true High-priests; I add, that it appears moreover from

|| *S. John*, that *Caiaphas* was accepted and owned by God

* *C. XL v. 51.*

himself. *And one of them, named Caiaphas, being the High-priest that same year, said unto them,*

Ye know nothing at all, nor consider that it is expedient for us, that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not. And this spake he not of himself: but being High-priest that year, he prophesied that Jesus should die for that nation, &c. It appears from these words, both that *S. John* own'd him to be a true High-priest, and that as High-priest, he receiv'd from God the Power of Prophecy.

§. 4. I shall here, for the close of all, take notice of an Answer which some of our Adversaries have been pleas'd to make, when urg'd with these Examples of the *Jews*, our Saviour, and his Apostles. Upon this account, say they, the Nation of the *Jews*, our Saviour, and his Apostles, submitted to the present Possessor tho' put into the place of another unjustly depos'd by the Secular Authority, because the Temple being in the power of the Secular Magistrate, they could not perform the more Solemn Acts of their Religion, unless they accepted of that High-priest whom the Secular Magistrate had set over the Temple. To this I answer, That if they had look'd upon the present Possessor to be no true High-priest, their being confined to the Temple of *Jerusalem*, could not have been any inducement to 'em to submit themselves to him, and to communicate with him in the Sacrifices which he offer'd. If the Secular Magistrate would shut up their Temple, they were not oblig'd to have any Sacrifices, or any High-priest at all: And, because they have now no Temple, they have therefore no Priests or Sacrifices. So, if they had not been permitted to offer up their Sacrifices by a High-priest duly qualified, they would not have thought themselves oblig'd to offer any Sacrifices at all, any more than they would, if he that was their Governour, should have kept all lawful Sacrifices from 'em, and allow'd 'em only *Swine*. And how can we imagine, that, if God had not look'd upon those High-priests to be true and real High-priests, he would ever have accepted of the Sacrifices which they offer'd, or have sent down upon 'em, as High-Priests, his Spirit of Prophecy? If a *Swine* had

* *Τὸς δὲ πρὸς Ἀνανίαν καὶ Ἀνάνην ἀποστόλους, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν Ἀνανὸν ἑτοίματον, εἰς Ρώμην ἀπέπεμψε, πρὸς τὸν πτερχυμένον λόγον ὑφ' ἑξουσίας Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος.* Antiq. l. 20. c. 5.

† *1 Chron. XV. 11.*

had been offer'd, would God have accepted that Sacrifice because the Civil Governour would permit no other to be offer'd?

CHAP. IV.

*That the Ancient Christians submitted all along to such Bishops (if account-
ed Orthodox) as were put into the places of others deposed by the Secular
Power, tho never so unjustly. No Examples, either for or against us, in
the three first Centuries, all the Emperors being then Heathens. The Ex-
ample of Felix II. Bishop of Rome, tho put into the place of Liberius, un-
justly deposed by the bare Authority of the Emperor Constantius, and against
Liberius's consent, yet he's own'd by all that accounted him Orthodox,
by the Roman Clergy; among them, by the famous Damasus, who was
afterwards Pope. He is own'd as Metropolitan by the Bishops of the Di-
strict of Rome. His Ordinations are allow'd of as valid, by even his Ad-
versary Liberius. He has been all along own'd by the Church, as a Saint,
and true Pope.*

WHAT was the Practice of the *Jews*, our Saviour, and the Apostles in relation to the High-priests, who were put into the places of others, unjustly deposed by the Civil Authority, that they all along own'd 'em as true High-priests, and that God himself approved of 'em, we have shewn in the two foregoing Chapters. I come now to shew, in the third place, That the same was the Practice of the Ancient Christians throughout all Ages; (I mean, the *generality* of 'em in every particular Age) with respect to their Bishops, provided only, that they thought 'em upon no other account justly exceptionable.

For the three first Ages the Emperors were all *Heathens*, and if they deposed any Bishops, they did it to destroy Christianity, and all Bishops in general: It is not therefore to be expected, that the three first Ages should afford us any Examples. But as they afford *us* no Examples, so neither can our Adversaries produce any one single Example of those Ages, that makes for their Cause. *We can say* (says our Adversary, the Learned *Vindicator*) *that even in the Age of St. Cyprian, it is very notorious, that they then own'd no such Power of the Secular Magistrate to deprive Bishops of their purely Spiritual Power; and that the Church, as a Society distinct from the State, subsisted on their not owning it, even as to a deprivation of their particular Districts and Jurisdictions. It is notorious, and as notorious as any one Tradition of the Catholick Church in those Ages, (not excepting that of the Canon of the New Testament it self) that Christians then, and not only then, but in all the former Persecutions that had been from the times of the Apostles to that very Age, did own themselves bound to adhere to their Bishops, when it was notorious withal, that those Bishops were set up and main-
tain'd*

tain'd against the consent of the Civil Magistrate. It is as notorious also, that this Adherence of theirs was not onely matter of Fact (which is all our Adversaries pretend here) but a Duty own'd by them as obliging in Conscience, and as the Result of Principles. Again, says the *Vindicator*: Till our Adversaries can disarm us of the Advantage we have from the Doctrine of the Catholick Church, signified on occasion of these earliest Instances of Schism, in S. Cyprian's Age, their Author's Collection of later Instances, were it never so pertinent to their purpose, can do them no Service. Should a Person, unacquainted with the Histories and Writers of those Times, read what the *Vindicator* has here so positively asserted, he could not but conclude, that the three first Ages were full of Examples against us. But they that are not utterly Strangers to the Practice and the Histories of those Ages, know very well, that all that the *Vindicator* lays down, is unworthy of so learned a Man; either utterly untrue, or not in the least to his Purpose. That the *Christians* of those Ages did not own any Power in the *Secular* Magistrate to deprive Bishops of their purely *Spiritual* Power, is what we never denied. That they ever disown'd the Power of the *Secular* Magistrate to deprive a Bishop of his particular District, if he should refuse to acknowledge the Authority of that Magistrate; or if upon any other *Civil* account he deserv'd to be depriv'd, our Adversaries cannot demonstrate. But it is not now our Business to inquire concerning that. We are onely at present to inquire, Whether ever they refus'd to submit to the present Possessor, because his Predecessor was unjustly depos'd by the *Secular* Power. That they were wont to adhere to their Bishops, tho' set up and maintain'd against the Consent of the *Civil* Magistrate, we acknowledge. But what is that to our Adversaries Purpose? If they still adher'd to their Bishops, when the persecuting Emperors endeavour'd to root out Christianity by driving away the Bishops, what is that to the Case now before us? Should our Magistrates, like the Persecutors of those Ages, endeavour to destroy Christianity, by depriving us of our Bishops, and by suffering none to be substituted in their places; then those Bishops would be our onely Bishops, and as such we should still adhere to 'em. If in those Ages the Emperours had onely depos'd such Bishops as would not own their Authority, or as otherwise deserv'd to be depriv'd, and had suffer'd other Persons, as worthy, to be put into their Places, who can doubt but that the *Christians* of those Ages would have done as we now do, as was done in the very next Age, and as the *Jews* had all along done? I shall answer all that the *Vindicator* has said, or ever will be able to say, concerning the Practice of those Ages, with this Challenge,

That he shew me any one single Instance of a Bishop disown'd by the Church in those three first Centuries; for being put into the place of another depos'd by the Civil Authority. If he cannot do that: I shall onely desire him to produce the Authority of any one single Writer of those Ages, that directly makes to this purpose, That a Bishop so constituted ought not, upon that account, to be own'd. Till that be done, whatsoever he is pleas'd to allege, I shall onely say this of him: Magna dicit, sed nihil probat.

§. 2. The first Instance of an *Orthodox* Bishop, put into the place of another *Orthodox* Bishop depos'd by the Civil Authority, is that of *Felix II.* Bishop

* *Liberius* was banished *Arbitrione & Lolliano* Coss. says *Sulpitius Severus*, *Hist. Sacr. lib. 2. cap. 55.* It appears likewise from other Authorities, that it was on the year 355.

(a) l. 2. c. 37.

(b) l. 4. c. 11.

(c) l. 2. c. 16. &

17.

(d) *Apolog. ad Const. & Epist. ad Solit.* p. 834, 835.

(e) *Hist.* l. 15. c. 8.

(f) *Libellus Synodicus*, c. 51. *Marcell. and Faustinus Pref. ad libell. Prec. Pontificat.*

Felix, who was put into his place, tho' he was rejected by the much greater number of the *Laitie* of *Rome*, because he was Ordain'd by the *Arians*; and because he was thought to favour that Party, yet by all such as were satisfied that he was really *Orthodox*, was own'd and receiv'd, without any Regard had to the *Lay* and unjust Deprivation of *Liberius*. *Theodore* tells us, that, when he was at Church, there were none of the *People* of *Rome* would go into it. But what does he say was the reason? It was not because *Liberius* had been deposed onely by the *Civil* Authority, but because he communicated with the *Arians*. After the great *Liberius*, says he, there was Ordain'd one of his *Deacons*, nam'd *Felix*, who indeed had continu'd firm in the Faith

(g) Τοῖς δὲ γὰρ δι-
αδοξήσαντες ταύτην,
ἀδελφοὶ ἐκοινώνουν· ὁ
δὲ μὲντοι οὐκ ὁ-
μολογῶν τῷ Πάπῳ
εἰς εὐχέλαιον ἐπέστη-
λιν οὐκ ἔδωκεν ὀρ-
τὴν ἐκείνην.

(h) *Cognoverat etiam Liberius quod Felici illius successoris, clerus & populus urbis communionem velut Hæretici declinarent, ejusque solennis nequaquam interesset.* *Chron. Tom. 2. l. 4. c. 4.*

of *Rome*: who in the Year * CCCLV. was put into the place of *Liberius*, depos'd by the Emperour *Constantinus*. That *Liberius* was depos'd and banish'd by the bare Authority of the Emperour, without any pretence to a *Synod*, and that too very unjustly; for no other Reason, but because he was *Orthodox*, and refus'd to comply with him in subscribing to the Condemnation of *S. Athanasius*, Archbishop of *Alexandria*, is manifest, beyond all doubt, from the Testimonies of all Historians, (a) *Socrates*, (b) *Sozomen*, (c) *Theodore*, (d) *S. Athanasius* himself, (e) *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and (f) others.

of the *Nicene Fathers*; (g) yet with those that endeavour'd to subvert it, he freely Communicated: And on that account there were none of the *Inhabitants* of *Rome* would go into the Church when he was there. Should we grant what *Theodore* says, that none of the *Inhabitants* of *Rome* would communicate with him: Yet this at least we have gain'd by his Testimony, that they would not have refus'd, if he had not communicated with *Hereticks*. That the reason of the *Peoples* refusing to submit to Pope *Felix*, was, because they thought him a *Heretick*, is expressly asserted by *Freculphus* Bishop of *Lisieux*, who flourish'd in the Year 840. *Liberius* (h), says he, knew that the *Clergy* and the *People* of the *City* declin'd the *Communion* of his Successor *Felix*, as being a *Heretick*. If *Freculphus* did not write this from some antient Historian, (as indeed he could not read so concerning the *Clergy*, for that is very false, as will by and by appear,) then by that Conjecture it appears, that he did not think there was any other good Reason for which they might separate from him. It appears likewise by the Testimony even of *S. Athanasius*, that

that the reason of the People's Aversion to Felix, was, *Because he was put in by the Hereticks, and was himself thought one.* (a) But the People, says he, well knowing the wickedness of the Hereticks, did not suffer 'em (Felix and his Ordainers) to enter into their Churches, but separated from their Communion. That S. Athanasius thought Felix a Heretick, is a thing not at all to be wonder'd at: For he knew nothing of him, and had never heard of him, but as put by the Arians into Liberius's place. And therefore it was natural for him to think him, as the People of Rome did, one of that Party.

But tho' the Generality of the People were so far possess'd with Prejudice against him, through the great and extraordinary (b) Affection which they had for Liberius, as not to be capable of being convinc'd, but that he must needs be an Arian: Yet the Clergy of the City of Rome knew him to be thoroughly Orthodox, and accordingly receiv'd him for their Bishop. Let us hear what the Presbyters Marcellinus and Faustinus say of it. (c) The same day, say they, that Liberius went away into banishment, all the Clergy, that is, the Presbyters, and the Archdeacon Felix, and Damasus Liberius's Deacon, and all that bare Office in the Church, with one accord in the presence of the People oblig'd themselves by an Oath, not to accept of any other Bishop as long as Liberius was living. But the Clergy, notwithstanding their Oath, accepted of Felix the Archdeacon, when Ordain'd in the room of Liberius. Let us likewise hear S. Jerome concerning the same Matter. (d) Liberius, says he, being driven into Banishment on the account of his Faith, all the Clergy engag'd themselves by an Oath not to receive any other Bishop. But when Felix was Ordain'd their Bishop, the greatest part of 'em broke their Oaths, and were after a years time ejected together with Felix; because Liberius, to free himself from Banishment, had subscrib'd to the Heresy of the Arians, and had enter'd Rome as a Conquerour. 'Twas this general Compliance of the Clergy that excited the angry Laity to violate those Immunities and Privileges which had formerly been granted the Clergy of Rome. This occasion'd a new Law for the Confirmation of those Immunities and Ex-

(a) Οἱ δὲ λαοὶ πάντες εἰδότες τὴν παρενοχλίαν τῶν αἰρετικῶν, ἕτε συνεχώρησαν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας εἰσελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ μακρὰν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀνεχώρησαν. Epist. ad Solitar. p. 861.

(b) Ammianns Marcel. says, That the People burned with the love of Liberius; (*ejus amore flagrabat*) to that degree, that they that were to carry him away, dar'd not attempt it in the day-time, but were forc'd to do it at midnight; and even at that time they could not do it without a great deal of difficulty.

(c) Sed eo die quo Liberius in exilium proficisceretur, Clerus omnium, i. e. Presbyteri & Archidiaconus Felix, & ipse Damasus Diaconus, & cuncta Ecclesia Officia, omnes pariter, praesente populo Romano, sub iurejurando firmaverunt, se vivente Liberio Pontificem alterum nullatenus habituros. Sed Clerus contrafas, quod minimè decebat (this they say as the inveterate Enemies of Damasus, who was one of that Clerus.) cum summo perjurii scelere Felicem Archidiaconum ordinatum in locum Liberii susceperant. Praefat. ad Libellum Precum.

(d) Liberio in exilium ob fidem truso, omnes Clerici juraverunt ut nullum alium susceperant, eorum quum Felix ab Arianis fuisset in Sacerdotium substitutus, plurimi peccaverunt, & post annum cum Felice ejecti sunt, quia Liberius radio victus exilii, & in haereticis praevitate subscribens Roman quasi victor intraverat. Chron. ad an. 350.

† lib. 16. tit. 2.
leg. 14.

emptions, to secure the Clergy of that City from Indignities offer'd 'em by the Laity. Which Law is now extant in the *Theodosian* † *Code*, directed by the Emperour *Constantinus* to Pope *Felix*. From these Relations of *S. Jerome*, and the Presbyters *Marcellinus* and *Faustinus*, there are three Things to be observ'd. 1. That the Clergy oblig'd themselves by an *Oath* not to accept of any other Bishop whilst *Liberius* was living. Now what need had they to enter into such an engagement, if, in their Opinions, and according to the Principles of those Times, Whosoever should be put into *Liberius's* place whilst alive, would on that account be *no Bishop*? They knew of no such Doctrine. 2. That tho' they had took an *Oath*, and tho' *Felix* was Ordain'd by the *Arians*, and tho' their Affection for *Liberius* was great, tho' all these things concurr'd to oblige 'em not to receive *Felix* for their Bishop; yet because they knew him to be truly *Orthodox*, and no promoter of the *Arian* Interest, as they expected he would be whom the *Arians* should Ordain in *Liberius's* place, they thought themselves oblig'd to act contrary to the *Oath* they had taken, and to acknowledge him as their Bishop. 'Twas *Orthodoxy* they had regard to, not by whom he was Ordain'd, or in whose place he was substituted. Their Love for *Liberius* was inferior to their Love of the Church. And as for their *Oath*; when they took it, they did it for the security of the *Orthodox* Faith: When they saw that such a one was Ordain'd, as they did not expect, one whom they well knew to be no promoter of the *Arian* Belief, they thought it no longer oblig'd 'em. 'Tis observable, in the Third place, That as almost all the Clergy submitted to *Felix*, as their Bishop; so after he was expell'd, they still adher'd to him in opposition to *Liberius*. This is clear not only by the Testimony of *S. Jerome*, who says they were ejected together with *Felix*; but likewise by the more express words of *Marcellinus* and *Faustinus*. Here possibly it may be objected: If the Clergy thought themselves in Conscience oblig'd to submit to the present Possessor, because he was *Orthodox*, Why did they not leave *Felix*, and return again to *Liberius*, when he was again the Possessor? The Reason is plain. 'Twas because *Liberius*, in the time of his Banishment, had subscrib'd to the *Arians*; and they look'd upon him as no longer an *Orthodox* Bishop. That *Liberius* did so, is certain: For tho' some of the Greek Writers, as *Socrates* and *Theodoret*, do not seem to have known any thing of it; and tho' others amongst the *Latins*, as *Sulpitius Severus* and *Phabadius*, make no mention of it; yet 'tis positively asserted by *S. Jerome* in the Words above cited, and (a) elsewhere; as likewise by (b) *S. Hilary*, (c) *Philostorgius*, (d) *Sozomen*, and (e) *S. Athanasius*. And that indeed was the Reason why *Felix* was turn'd out, and he again restor'd. For eight years together they adher'd to *Felix*, in opposition to *Liberius*; i. e. during all the Life of *Felix*; for (f) so long *Felix* liv'd after *Liberius* was restor'd, tho' some say he died in a short time after his Ejection. After *Felix's* Death, being by that time better satisfied concerning *Liberius's* Faith; that tho' he had apostatiz'd, by subscribing to the *Arians*, yet now again he was *Orthodox*, they re-unite themselves to him. He pardons

(a) *De Scriptor. Eccles. in Fortunatiano.*

(b) *Ad Constantinum Imp.*

(c) *Hist. l. 4. c. 3.*

(d) *l. 4. c. 15.*

(e) *Epist. ad Solit. p. 837.*

(f) *Marcel. & Faustinus in Prefat. ad Libellum Precum.*

pardons them for their *breaking* their Oath (as he call'd it) they him for his *Apostacy*.

It is very remarkable, that the famous *Damasus*, who afterwards was himself Pope of *Rome*, was one of those of the *Clergy* that submitted and adher'd to *Felix*. At that time that *Liberius* was banish'd, he was his *Deacon*, and for some time he accompany'd him in his Banishment: But tho' he lov'd him so well, and tho' he himself had been *sworn* with the rest of the *Clergy*, he left him however, and return'd to *Rome*, and there submitted to the new Bishop

Felix. This appears from the Testimony (a) of the Presbyters *Marcellinus* and *Fausstinus*. They add indeed, that what he did was through Ambition: But that is onely a malicious Insinuation, which was very natural to them, they being, when they wrote, the mortal Enemies of *Damasus*, and engag'd in a *Schism* against him: And indeed their whole Book is nothing but a *Petition* prefer'd to the Emperours against him. With this Testimony of *Marcellinus* and *Fausstinus*, as to matter of fact, agrees that

(a) *Cum Liberio Damasus Diaconus ejus se simulat profectus; unde fugiens de itinere, Romam rediit, ambitione corruptus.*

Tradition of the *Pontifical*, that *Damasus* was one of those Presbyters that buried the Body of *Felix*. Hence likewise it came to pass, That, after the Death of *Liberius*, that part of the *Clergy* that had formerly adher'd to Pope *Felix*, chose *Damasus* Pope in opposition to *Ursinus* (or *Ursicinus*.) This appears by the Testimony of an antient Register of the *Roman Church*, as antient as those

Times, which (b) *Onuphrius Panvinus* quotes; and 'tis likewise related by *Marcellinus* and *Fausstinus*; who give this account of that Affair: (c) *Liberius*, say they, being deceas'd, the Presbyters and Deacons, *Ursinus*, *Amanantius*, and *Lupus*, with the holy People who had continu'd firm to *Liberius* in his Banishment, meet together, and *Ursinus* is chose Bishop in the room of *Liberius*; but the perjur'd Party (so they speak, as having been themselves

(b) *Quo mortuo Presbyteri aliquos & Diaconi S. R. E. Liberiana partis statim Ursinum Diaconum Episcopum constituunt, & a Paulo Episcopo Tiburtino ordinari faciunt. Hi vero qui Felici adhaeserant, Damasum in Schismate etiam ipsi Pontificem Romanum renunciant. Onuphrius Not. ad Platinam ad vitam Felicis II. ex Registro (ab Ursiniano scripto.)*

Liberians, and as being at that time the mortal Enemies of *Damasus*) chose *Damasus* their Bishop in the room of *Felix*. So firmly had *Damasus*, and the rest of that Party, adher'd to *Felix*, that here they say, 'twas in *Felix's* room that *Damasus* was chose Bishop by that Party. This, I say, is highly remarkable, that not onely the much greater Part of the *Clergy* of *Rome*, but likewise the famous and the learned *Damasus* did not at all doubt of the lawfulness of submitting to the present

(c) *Tunc Presbyteri & Diaconi, Ursinus, Amanantius & Lupus, cum plebe sancta, quae Liberio fidem servaverat in exilio constituta, ceperunt in Basilid Julii procedere, & sibi Ursinum Diaconum Pontificem in locum Liberii ordinare: deposcunt. Perjuri vero in Lucinis Damasum sibi Episcopum in locum Felicis exoptulant.*

Orthodox Possessor, tho' the Predecessor were never so unjustly depos'd by the *Lay-power*. This was both the Opinion and the Practice of one who is wont to be call'd the *Great*, the *Pious*, and the *Orthodox* *Damasus*; he that for his

Piety

Piety has been all along honour'd by the Church as a *Saint*; the *Cleri speculique decusque*, as a (a) Modern Poet calls him; That *sanctus* and *beatus Damasus*, as (b) S. Ambrose and (c) S. Augustine call him; That *Vir laudabilis*, as he is call'd by

(a) Nic. Montacutius in versibus de Romanis Pontif.

(b) Epist. 30. ad Valentin. Augustum.

(c) Lib. 6. contra Julianum, c. 12.

(d) Lib. 10. Epist. 41.

(e) Rescripto apud Sirmondianas Conciliorum Italiae Epistolas, p. 94.

(f) Apolog. ad Pammachium prope finem.

(g) Δαμασος ὁ πανευφημος, Theodoret Hist. l. 5. c. 10.

(h) Παμπόλοις ἀρετῆς κοσμήμενος. Ibid. l. 2. c. 22.

* Ἀξιεπαίνω βίω κοσμήμενος, καὶ πάντεσσι λένγει καὶ προσφύει ὡς τὸν ἀποσελικῶν δογματῶν αἰρέμενος. Ibid. l. 5. c. 2. & Libellus Cynodicus, c. 65.

† Cod. Theod. lib. 16. tit. 1. leg. 2. By Isaac Catholicus, Inuestitura l. in Armenios p. 390. he is reckon'd amongst the

ἀρχοὶ πατέρες οἱ ἱσαγγελοὶ, καὶ διόδοσοι, καὶ σαυμάτσοροι, καὶ σιμοφόροισι.

|| Damasus was 23 Years old in the time of the Council of Nice.

(i) Pontificale, Ado in Martyrolog. &c.

(k) From October in the Consulship of Gratian and Dagalaiphus, in which Damasus was made Bishop, as appears by the Presb. Marcellinus and Faustinus, to October in the Consulship of Antonius and Syagrius, in which he died, as appears by Marcellinus Comes, are just 16 Years.

(l) Catalogo Script. Ecclef. prope othogenarius, which Sophronius translates ὀρθογονίας: So Suidas out of him.

is above said, was promoted in the room of *Liberius*, in the Year 355. and was again turn'd out upon the Restauration of *Liberius*, somewhat less than two Years after: Eight Years (as has been already observ'd) he liv'd after that, and died on the 10th. of the Kalends of *December*, when *Valentinian* and *Valens* were *Consuls*, i. e. in the Year 365. *Liberius* surviv'd *Felix* but about 10 Months, for he died on the 8th. of the Kalends of *October*, in the Consulship of *Gratian* and *Dagalaiphus*, i. e. the Year following. This is plain from the express Words of the Presbyters *Marcellinus* and *Faustinus*. I need not add any thing, to confute that *Story*, which we find in two *fabulous* Lives of Pope *Damasus*, That when Pope *Liberius* was banish'd, he constituted our *Damasus* his *Vicar* to supply his place in his absence; and that he accordingly did so, till *Liberius* was restor'd. If that be true, then he did not adhere to Pope *Felix*: But it needs but very little Judgment, were there no good Authority for what we have here laid down, to discover the falseness of that *Monkish* Story; and 'tis easie to shew how little the Writers of it knew, relating to *Liberius's* Banishment. I shall take it for granted, that there is no one so *Injudicious* as to hearken to it.

I must here add, That tho' our Authors, when they speak of the People's Aversion to *Felix*, are wont to make use of *general* Terms; and tell us, that all the People refus'd to communicate with him; yet I do not believe, that they ought to be understood strictly, but onely of the much greater Part. That *Felix* had a very considerable Party, not onely amongst the *Clergy*, but likewise amongst the *Laity*, seems to me very probable from hence, That within a Year after *Felix's* Death, when *Ursinus* (or *Ursicinus*) was chose Pope by the *Liberians*, and *Damasus* by the *Felicians*, there arose a great Contention, not onely among the *Clergy*, but likewise among the *Laity*; and *Damasus* then had the greatest part of the *People* on his side, and many of 'em were so zealous and violent for him, as that much blood was spilt. This Schism and Contention seems to have proceeded partly from some former Heats and *Sidings* of the *People*. I know, that the Presbyters *Marcellinus* and *Faustinus* say, that *Damasus* had brib'd the *People* with a great Summ of Money: But that is onely a malicious Suggestion, such as might be expected from Persons so much his Enemies. I shall not take notice, that in the *Pontifical* it is said, That, when *Felix* was *Martyr'd*, there suffer'd with him *multi Clerici & Fideles*; not onely many of the *Clergy*, but likewise many others of the *Faithfull*: The Story of his being put to Death is too uncertain, much more the Circumstances of it. Yet at least this appears from that Story, that amongst the *Antients* 'twas believ'd, that many of the *Laity*, as well as of the *Clergy*, adher'd to him.

Having thus shewn, what Reception Pope *Felix* met with at *Rome*, I shall shew in the next place, that, tho' he was made Bishop in the room of the unjustly deposed *Liberius*, yet, first, the Catholick Bishops of his own district communicated with him, and receiv'd him as their *Metropolitan*. Secondly, His Ordinations were receiv'd and allow'd of as *valid*, by even his Adversary *Liberius*. Thirdly, The whole *Western* Church has all along own'd him as one of the true Bishops of *Rome*.

It cannot be expected, but that he who was Ordain'd by the *Arians* in the place of one deposed for opposing the *Arians*, and likewise communicated with the *Arians*, should by many, be both thought and spoken ill of. But whoever they were, that did not approve of our Pope *Felix*, because they thought him an *Arian*, or because he was ordain'd by the *Arians*, or because he communicated with the *Arians*, their Authority and Judgment make nothing at all against us. He was thought (as has been already observ'd) not onely by the

* Ος διακονῶν ὦν
πῶς ἐν Ρώμῃ ἐκκλη-
σιας: καὶ τῇ Ἀρετῇ
δεῖν περὶ τοῦ εἰς
τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν περ-
ελάσθαι. 1. 2. c. 37.

People of *Rome*, but likewise by *S. Athanasius*, an *Arian*. So * *Socrates* calls him expressly, tho' he mentions withall, that others affirm'd, he was *Orthodox*. So likewise *S. Jerome* in his *Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers*; tho' indeed in *Sophronius's* Greek Translation of that Work, the word *Arian* is not to be found. From this ill Opinion that many had conceiv'd of him, it came to pass, that by

That as soon as he was put by the *Arians* into *Liberius's* place, he was punish'd by God with the loss of his Eyes, and afterwards died of a Pestilential Disease. This Story is told of him by the Author of that

† *Biblioth. Cod.*
258. p. 1445.

Life of S. Athanasius, which is extant in † *Photius*. Hence likewise it was, that the Writer of one of the *Lives of Pope Damasus* (whom another follows in his Fiction)

invented that Story above mentioned, that *Liberius* made *Damasus* his *Vicar* to oppose the Endeavours of the *Arians* during the time of his Banishment: He had read in *S. Jerome*, that *Felix* was ordain'd by the *Arian Acacius* (so he himself writes) and thence he concluded, that *Felix* himself was an *Arian*. Thence he further infer'd, that some one was appointed by *Liberius*, to oppose in his stead, the endeavours of the *Arians*; and who should that be, but his *Damasus*? Hence likewise it was, that the Chronologer *Marcellinus Comes* thought he ought to be excepted out of the number of the Bishops of *Rome*.

(a) *Damasus Ro-*
mana Ecclesia, ex-
ceptis Liberio & Fe-
lice, XXXV. Episco-
pis.

That his thinking him an *Arian*, was the reason of his excepting him, may be gather'd from hence, that he likewise (a) excepts *Liberius*, because he at last had subscrib'd to the *Arian* Belief. In like manner (b) *S. Jerome* calls *S. Cyril of Jerusalem*, and *Meletius of Antioch*, Hereticks; and he will not allow 'em a place amongst the Bishops of those Sees; because they were made Bishops by the *Arians*, and at first seem'd to favour 'em. Yet even in his Time almost all the Greek Church receiv'd 'em into Communion, and very highly esteem'd 'em; and now by both Churches they are honour'd with the Title of *Saints*. By (c) *Optatus Meleвитanus* and (d) *S. Augustine*, where they reckon up the Successions of the Bishops of *Rome*, our *Felix* is omitted: But from thence it cannot be infer'd, that they did not own him as one of the Bishops of *Rome*. For it is not their Design to reckon up all the Popes that had been, but onely to shew, for the Confutation of the *Donatists*, that at *Rome*

(b) *Chron. ad an.*
329 349.

(c) *De Schismate*
Donatist. 1. 2. p. 36.
Marco Successit Julius,
Julio Liberius, Libe-
rio Damasus, &c.

(d) *Epist. 165. in*
the same words with
Optatus.

they

they had had a Succession of Bishops from the Times of the Apostles. Since therefore *Liberius* was again restor'd, and so was the immediate Predecessor of *Damasus*, as he was the Successor of *Julius*, it was not at all for their purpose to make any mention of *Felix*. *It is not the business of Optatus*, says a learned Annotator, *to give us the Names of all the Popes, but only the Successions.* And it would have been ridiculous in him to have mention'd *Felix* as the Successor of *Liberius*, since *Liberius* not onely outliv'd *Felix*, but likewise enjoy'd the Pontificate after his death. Upon this account likewise, *S. Augustine* in his 165th. Epistle, where, upon the like occasion, he reckons up the Successions of the Bishops of Rome, makes no mention of *Felix*. Thus the learned *Meric Casaubon*, tho' he was not at all concern'd whether *Felix* were own'd as a true Pope or no. 'Tis observ'd by *Anastasius*, in his Edition of the Pontifical, that the Time of *Felix's* Government is usually comprehended in that of *Liberius*. Thus it is in the Catalogues of Kings; if a King has Reign'd twice, the Name of that King who Reign'd, in the Time of the others Expulsion, is very frequently omitted. And this was the reason why *Felix* is omitted by *Theodoret* in that Catalogue of the Bishops of Rome which he has subjoin'd at the end of his History.

These things I thought fit to premise, to prevent Mistakes, and to cut off all Objections before-hand. We will now proceed to the Things propos'd to be prov'd.

1. That the Catholick Bishops of his District acknowledg'd him as their *Metropolitan*, and that others likewise, as many as had an occasion, communicated with him, may be prov'd by many Arguments: First, From the three Epistles which are extant in *Isidorus Mercator*, one from *S. Athanasius* and the Synod of *Alexandria* to him, in which he is own'd as true Bishop of Rome, and address'd to as such; another from him and a Synod at Rome, in answer to that of *S. Athanasius*; and a third from him and a Synod at Rome, to the Church-Catholick. For tho' it be certain, that all those Epistles are altogether fictitious; yet from them it is manifest, that at that time in which they were written, viz. about 900 Years ago, it was taken for granted, that *Felix* was generally own'd by all Catholick Bishops. 2dly, From the Authority of the Pontifical; in which it is said, that he call'd a Synod of 48 Bishops, and condemn'd the Emperour *Constantinus* and the *Arians*. And this is affirm'd not onely in the Vulgar Pontifical ascrib'd to *Anastasius*, but likewise in that which was publish'd in the time of the Emperour *Justinian* the Elder, above 1150 Years ago; viz. about the Year 534. If it be doubted whether there were really such a Synod call'd by Pope *Felix*, as the Pontifical affirms; yet at least thus much must be granted, that near 1200 Years ago there was an undoubted Tradition in the Church, that the Bishops of the District of Rome acknowledg'd him for their *Metropolitan*. But 3dly. It appears from the Inscription which was found on his Body, when that was took up at Rome in the Time of Pope *Gregory XIII.* that there was such a Synod call'd by him. The In-

* See *Baronius's* *Annals*, an. 357. §. 50.

scription was this*: *CORPUS S. FELICIS PAPÆ ET MARTYRIS QUI DAMNAVIT CONSTANTIUM*. The afore-

said Pope *Gregory XIII.* having order'd the *Roman Martyrology* to be review'd and corrected, *Baronius* was very zealous to have our *Felix* omitted, as doubting of his being a *Martyr*, (and because he thought, that his being own'd as one of the true Popes, might prove a good Argument against some Pretensions of the Church of *Rome* :) In this he was by many oppos'd, especially by the Card. *Julius Antonius Sanctiorius*. In the midst of this Contention the Body chanc'd to be found, together with the Bodies of some other Saints, (by a Miracle, say the Popish Historians,) and that put an end to the Controversy. Tho' there's no one more apt than myself to suspect the Integrity of *Romanists* in things of this Nature; and tho' the time in which this Body was found is enough to make one suspect at first thought, that the Inscription of that Body which was found, was onely a *pia fraud* of the Cardinal *Sanctorius's* Party: Yet if we seriously consider, 'twill be hard to think it an Imposition, since all the great Men of *Rome* saw the Body, amongst them *Baronius*, who owns himself *convinced* by it. 'Tis true, I do not believe that the being a *second time* baptiz'd was that for which *Constantius* was condemn'd by that Synod: But that is not said in the Inscription; and 'twas onely the mistake of the Author of the *Pontifical*. Neither do I believe that that Synod was call'd before Pope *Felix* was ejected: I rather think that 'twas after he was ejected, and that it consisted of such Bishops (scarce so many, I suppose, as 48.) as adher'd to him, in the time of his Ejection, in opposition to the *Laps'd Liberius*. Neither, Lastly, do I believe, that *Felix* was ever put to death. The whole truth I take to be this: He was therefore call'd a *Martyr* by his Adherents, and so entitl'd in the above-said *Inscription*, because he was ejected by the *Hereticks*, and suffer'd

† That the Title of *Martyr* was frequently given to such, tho' they died a natural Death. See *Forbes's* *Instruct. Hist. Theol.* l. 1. c. 2. &c. and *Swicer's* *Theol. ruz.*

† much for his Faith, and died a *Confessor*. Hence afterwards arose that Tradition concerning his being put to death, the Title of *Martyr* being understood by Posterity in the more common sense. 4thly. It is said in both the *Pontificals*, as well the ancient as that ascrib'd to *Anastasius*, that *Felix* in his time Ordin'd 5 Deacons, 21 Presbyters, and 18 (or 19) Bishops. And the truth of this cannot with any shew of Reason be question'd; since 'twas easy for the Author to know it by the publick *Registers*. 5thly. I observe, that amongst all the ancient Writers, who have mention'd his succeeding *Liberius*, tho' he govern'd above a year, and tho' they generally mention that the Laity of *Rome* refus'd to communicate with him; yet not a word in any, that the Bishops

|| The *Pontifical* says a year and two months. It is certain from *Theodoret*, *S. Athanasius* *Epist. ad Solit.* p. 837. & *Apolog. ad Const.* p. 807. and the Presb. *Marcellinus* and *Faustinus*, that 'twas somewhat more than two years that *Liberius* was in Banishment.

of the District of *Rome* refus'd to own him for their Metropolitan. Had the Bishops of his District refus'd to own him, it must needs have made such a noise, as that some one or other would have mention'd it.

2. That our *Felix* Ordain'd many Bishops and others, is apparent, not onely from the express Testimony of the *Pontifical*, but likewise from Reason it self, since he govern'd, as I but now said, above the space of a Year, and *Liberius* was in Banishment above two Years: Now that all those whom *Felix* had ordain'd, were receiv'd and approv'd of by *Liberius* when he was agen restor'd, is apparent from this, That there is not a word in any Author of so much as a Question rais'd against 'em. And of this *Baronius* himself, tho' no great Friend of *Felix's*, does not at all doubt.

I here observe farther, *First*, That the Schismatical Presbyters, *Marcellinus* and *Faustinus*, and the Writer of *Onuphrius's* Register, who likewise liv'd in those days, tho' they were all *Ursinians*, and hated all those that adher'd to *Felix*, yet giving an account what became of the *Clergy* that adher'd to *Felix*, they onely say, that after the death of *Felix* they * had their Perjury pardon'd by *Liberius*, and so were restor'd to their former Stations in the Church. They do not say, that they were pardon'd or absolv'd for any Sin committed in receiving a second Bishop, but that they were pardon'd for their Perjury. The other, it seems, was not reckoned a sin by either *Liberius* or those Writers. Secondly, That it appears from the Historian *Philostorgius*, that *Felix*, after he was ejected was still accounted a Bishop. *Felix*, says he, who in the absence of *Liberius* had been consecrated Bishop of *Rome*, when *Liberius* was agen restor'd, retir'd to another place, † enjoying indeed the Honour and Title of a Bishop, but without any District. There are some of the Moderns, as *Platina* (if I well remember) and others, who say, That after he was depos'd at *Rome*, he was made the Bishop of some other Place; but that indeed is not true. They seem to have been deceiv'd by those words of *Theodoret*; ἐπέειν ὁνομασθαι πόλιν.

* Post annos octo defunctus est Felix, Liberius misericordiam fecit in Clericos qui perjuraverant, eosque in locis propriis suscepit.

† Τὸ μὴ ἀξίωμα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς χάσαν, ἔμεινεν ὅμως ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἀρχιεπίσκοπος. 1. 4. §. 3.

3. That the Church of *Rome*, and withall, the whole Western Church has all along own'd him for one of the true Bishops of

Rome, appears from all their antient Catalogues, Martyrologies, and Breviaries By all which it is manifest, not only that they have all along own'd him as a true Bishop of Rome, but likewise, that they have all along worship'd him as one of their

* The Day dedicated to him is the 29th. of July.

* *Saints.* *Ut verus Pontifex habetur* (says the Learned Papebrochius) *memoratus in omnibus Catalogis, Breviariis, & Martyrologis, & basiliensis in Ecclesia officio proprio colitur.* Hence it was that those *Epistles* were forg'd in his Name, which are extant in Mercator amongst the *Epistles* which are forg'd in the Names of the rest of the Popes. Hence likewise in the antient Collectors of Canons, such as Ivo Carnotensis and

† *Decreti parte 2. Caus. 2. Qu. 6. c. 16. & Caus. 3. Qu. 3. & 5. c. 11.*

† *Gratian*, there are extant certain Decrees in his Name, as Authentick and good Law, taken out of the aforesaid *Epistles*. He is own'd as a Saint and true Pope by the Historians, Martinus,

an Arch-bishop of Poland, in the Thirteenth Century; Marianus Scotus in the Eleventh Century; Albo Floriacensis in the Tenth; Anastasius the Librarian, and the German Author of the Book de *Vitis Pontificum* attributed to Luitprandus Bishop of Cremona, in the Ninth. So likewise in the antient Martyrologies. In the genuine Martyrology

|| Writ in Verse, and erroneously ascrib'd to Bede under the Title of *Ephemerides*.

of our Venerable Bede near 1000 Years ago, and in those of Florus and || Wandelbertus, he is mention'd. In others more fully. In the Roman publish'd by Baronius: *Sancti Felicis II. Papæ & Martyris.* In that of Usuardus: *Natalis Sancti Felicis Papæ, qui à Constantio Augusto à sede suâ de-*

jectus, &c. In that of Notkerus: *Nativitas sancti Felicis Papæ.* Again, *Ejecit Constantinus sanctum Felicem Urbis Episcopum de sede Episcopatus sui.* In that of Ado Arch-bishop of Vienna, who flourish'd in the Ninth Century, as did likewise Usuardus and Notkerus: *Beati Felicis Pontificis.* Agen in the same words with Notkerus, *Ejecit Imp. Constantinus, &c.* Agen, *Depositus sanctus ac beatissimus Papa Felix.* In that of Rabanus Arch-bishop of Mentz, who flourish'd in the beginning of the same Age; *Passio Felicis Papæ & Martyris.* In another ascrib'd to Bede, and extant amongst his Works, but not truly his; *S. Felicis Pontificis.* In the *Sacramentarium* of Pope Gregory the Great, who flourish'd in the Year 590: *Beati Felicis Martyris tui atque Pontificis intercessio gloriosa nos protegat.* To these I add the antient Pontifical, which was writ (as I said) above 1150 Years ago, about the Year 534, in which he is mention'd as a Saint, and one of the

the *true Popes*. And here agen I must repeat what has been already observ'd, That so great was the Honour which the Church had for him in the time of Pope *Damasus*, that 'tis said by the *Ursinian* Presbyters *Marcellinus* and *Faustinus*, that *Damasus* was chose, not into the room of *Liberius*, but in *Felix's* place. Tho' that cannot be true, since, as those Presbyters themselves attest, those of the Clergy who chose Pope *Damasus*, had, after *Felix's* death, been reconcil'd to *Liberius*, and they did not pretend to chuse *Damasus* till after the *decease* of *Liberius*: Yet (I say) it is manifest from that Insinuation, that all *Damasus's* Party, that is, the Church, at least the Clergy of the Church, had still a great honour for *Felix*, and still lookt upon him as one of their *true Popes*.

As he is own'd for a *true Pope* by the whole *Western* Church, so likewise in the *Eastern* by *Nicephorus* the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who flourish'd in the Year 806. and that too, tho' *Nicephorus* * well knew, that he came into the place of *Liberius* when *Liberius* was unjustly depos'd by the Emperour. In his *Chronology*, as *Liberius* is reckon'd the 35th. Bishop of *Rome*, so our *Felix* is call'd the 36th.

* Λε. Νικήτωρ δ
Εὐσεβίου καὶ Κων-
στάντιου Αἰτιατὴ ἐν τ'
α' Φίλιξ ἔτθ' α'.

To all this I add, That among all the antient Writers, who have mention'd our *Felix* his succeeding *Liberius*, there is not so much as one, that either says expressly, or gives any Hint, that upon that account, it was not lawfull for the Church of *Rome* to submit to him: or that upon that account he could not be a *true Bishop*. The Schismatical Presbyters, *Marcellinus* and *Faustinus*, are the only Writers that have any thing looking that way. They say, that the Clergy of *Rome* accepted of Pope *Felix* *contra fas quod minime decebat cum summo perjurii scelere*. But it does not appear from these words, that they thought it was a *Sin* to receive a Bishop when the other had been unjustly depos'd: They only seem to reflect upon their being *forsworn*; so they afterwards say that *Liberius* pardon'd their *Perjury*, and do not take notice of any other *Sin* pardon'd. If they meant any more, it is not at all to be wonder'd at, in regard that *Felix* was ordain'd by the *Arians*, and 'tis certain that the said Presbyters were great Admirers of *Lucifer Calaritanus*, and did not allow of a Bishop ordain'd by the *Arians*. I add, That whatsoever their Opinion might be, it deserves not at all to be regarded, since what they write is directly against Pope *Damasus*, who was one of that Party: And since when they wrote, they were *Schismaticks*, and had never any regard to the Peace and Tranquillity of the Church. It appears in particular

cular of the Historian *Sozomen*, that he never knew any thing of our Adversary's Doctrine. He says, that when *Liberius* was restor'd, he and *Felix* were Co-bishops of Rome:

† Ολίγον δὲ χρόνον Φίλικος ἐκθίσαντος, μόνος Λίβεριος τῆς ἐκκλησίας προϊστάμενος πάντῃ τῇ τῷ αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὥστε τὸν πῶτερ δέον μὴ ἀδελφεῖν καὶ δύο ἡγεμόνι ἐκθρονοῦμενον ὁ διαζονίας σύμβολον ὅτι ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ διακονία ἀλλοτρίων. l. 4. c. 15. To the same purpose *Nicephorus Callist.* l. 9. c. 37. out of *Sozomen*.

|| *Sozomen* had heard that *Felix* was still own'd by one part of the Clergy; and thence he infer'd, that he and *Liberius* were Bishops together in Rome.

knowlege him as such. Yet no one more tender of the Church's Honour than he: as appears from these same Words.

Tho' we have been a long while in the Company of Pope *Felix*, and the Reader (I presume) begins to grow weary of it: Yet before we shake hands there must one thing more be clear'd. 'Tis said in the Pontifical, that when *Liberius* was depos'd, 'twas by his own Advice that *Felix* was made Bishop in his room. In this the Pontifical is

* *Chapm. parte 2.*
lib. 9. c. 2.

follow'd by several of the Moderns; in particular by *Antoninus* Archbishop of Florence, who * tells us, That either *Liberius* resign'd, and so, together with others, chose *Felix* for his Successor, or else he made him his Vicar-General to supply his place in his absence. If any thing of this be true, then all that we have hitherto said makes nothing for our purpose: It therefore highly concerns us to lay open the falseness of that Story. We shall do it with a great deal of ease; and that from these Considerations. First, That the Clergy of Rome, when *Liberius* was about to leave the City, engag'd themselves to him by an Oath not to accept of any other Bishop whilst he was alive, and that when they did accept of *Felix*, they were lookt upon as perjur'd. This is expressly attested by S. *Jerome*, the Presbyters *Marcellinus* and *Faustinus*, and the Writer of the Register quoted by *Onuphrius*, who all liv'd at that time. Secondly, That the same S. *Jerome*, and likewise *Ruffinus*, and *Socrates*, and S. *Athanasius* himself, expressly affirm, and others plainly intimate, that *Felix* was put in-

to

to *Liberius's* Place by the *Arians*. Thirdly, That, *Liberius* being again restor'd, *Felix*, with all those of the *Clergy* that had submitted to him, were with violence expell'd, and *Liberius* enter'd Rome as a **Conquerour**. So *S. Jerome* affirms, and with him agree the *Pontifical* it self; *Theodoret*, *Socrates*, *Onaphrius's* Register, and the Presbyters *Marcellinus* and *Faustinus*. To conclude; That Story of the *Pontifical* that *Liberius* consented to the making of *Felix* Pope, is by *Baronius* himself rejected as not in the least to be hearken'd to. The falleness of it seems to have been discover'd by *Platina* himself, and, long before him, by the Author of the Book *De Vitis Pontificum* ascrib'd to *Luitprandus*: who, tho' in other things they follow the *Pontifical*, and say, as that does, that the *Sacerdotes* call'd a *Synod*, and made *Felix* Bishop; yet they leave out those words, *Cam Consilio Liberii*.

I shall onely add, That if *Liberius* gave his Consent to the Election of *Felix*, then *Felix* was the *rightfull* and the *onely* Bishop. Since therefore *Liberius* was again receiv'd and own'd by the *Catholic* Church, when *Felix* was depos'd by the *Emperour's* bare Authority, we should (if we granted that Story to be true) onely change one Instance for another, not lose one.

And thus have we done with the famous Example of *Felix* and *Liberius*. An Example which our Adversaries (as I found after this was written) are so unhappy as to allege for *their* Cause. They tell us that *Felix* was rejected by the *Catholics* of

Rome: So the Author of the * *Further Account* of

* Pag. 7.

the *Baroccian MS.* and the Author of the † *Unity*

† Pag. 60.

of *Priesthood*, &c. Once more, says the latter, and

then most or all my Instances, will be review'd and made good, and that relates to *Liberius* and *Felix*: *Liberius* was banish'd, and *Felix* his *Deacon* was made Bishop in his stead; A man, saith *Sozomen*, always reported to be firm to the *Nicene Faith*, and as to matters of Religion altogether blameless. And yet when *Liberius* was re-call'd from Banishment, *Felix* was forc'd to retire; nay, the People of Rome, tho' requested thereunto by the *Emperour*, would not so much, according to *Theodoret*, as suffer him to remain Co-partner with *Liberius* in the *Bishoprick*. From whence it is evident, let *Mr. Hody* say what he will to the contrary, that there is something more requir'd in a new Bishop, than barely to be *Orthodox*. 'Tis impossible but these Authors must have known at least something of what has been above demonstrated: But they did not think that it would be for their profit to let their Readers

know

know all. To confirm our Assertion, (says the Author first quoted) that the Antients thought it unlawfull to submit to the present Possessor, when the Predecessor was deposed by the Emperour, *you may command a great many Instances from the Churches of France, Italy, Asia, Egypt, and the like; at present I shall onely produce that of Felix and Liberius.* I am sorry those many Instances of France, Italy, Asia, Egypt, &c. were conceal'd by our Author. What sort of Instances they are, we may guess by that of P. Felix, which, as one of his best, he thinks fit to produce. When he shall be pleas'd to draw out the rest of his Artillery, I dare engage, they will either appear to be nothing at all but Wood, or may easily be turn'd against him. I expect the former, in regard that to prove his Assertion, he produces the Example of S. Hilary Bishop of Poitiers, who, says he, was banish'd by the Emperour Constantius, yet was still own'd as Bishop of that See: And that he proves from those words of his, in his Book which he wrote to the Emperour; *Licet in exilio permanens, & Ecclesiæ adhuc per Presbyteros meos Communionem distribuens.* If S. Hilary continu'd still Bishop of Poitiers, what is that to the Cause now before us, since there was not any Orthodox Person made Bishop in his stead? So far was he from having an Orthodox Person for his Successor, that (while he was in Banishment) he had not any Successor at all. He was never deposed, but barely banish'd: and accordingly after four years time he was again restor'd.

C H A P. V.

*The Catholicks of Alexandria reject Lucius, because he was an Arian, not because his Predecessor Peter, was unjustly deposed by the Emperor. Our Adversaries Doctrine not known to the said Peter. §. 1. S. Briccius of Tours deposed by the People. Yet Justinian and Armentius his Successors, are own'd as true Bishops of Tours. Armentius is own'd as true Bishop by S. Briccius himself, though he had never given up his Right, but had always claimed it. §. 2. S. Euthymius refuses to communicate with Theodosius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, because he was a Heretick, and had embued his Hands in the Blood of many Persons, not because the Patriarch Juvenalis, whose See he had usurp'd, was still living. Theodosius's Ordinations are allow'd of as valid. §. 3. Acacius, Patriarch of Constantinople, refuses to communicate with Timotheus Elurus, not because he was put in to the place of Timotheus Salofaciolus, unjustly deposed by the Heretical Usurper Basiliscus, but because he was a Heretick and a Parricide. §. 4. Jo. Talaia, the Orthodox Patriarch of Alexand. being deposed by the bare Authority of the Emperour Zeno, though he still laid claim to the See, yet Petrus Mongus his Successor, is acknowledged by all that accounted him Orthodox, by Acacius and Fravitas, Patriarchs of Constantinop. by Martyrius Patriarch of Jerusalem, by (almost) all the Bishops of the Eastern Church; That they who refused to communicate with Mongus, viz. the Western Bishops, the Bishops of Dardania, &c. did it only because they thought him a Heretick; That Euphemius Patriarch of Constantinople communicated with him till he found him to be a Heretick, then forsook his Communion. Pope Simplicius, when he heard that Talaia was to be deposed, was well enough satisfied, till he understood, that Mongus, whom he accounted a Heretick, was design'd for his Successor. Whether Orthodox Bishops unjustly ejected by the Emperour be restor'd, or new Orthodox Bishops be created, he values not, he only desires that they that are made Bishops should be Orthodox. Pope Felix III. not at all concern'd for Talaia's being deprived without a Synod, only dislikes that one, whom he accounted a Heretick, was constituted in his place. §. 5. Calendion Patriarch of Antioch, being deposed by the Emperour Zeno, without any Synod, the Orthodox Bishops, viz. Pope Felix III. Quintianus Asculanus, Justinus Siculus, Acacius Constantinopolitanus, Antheon Arsinoites, Faustus Apolloniates, Pamphilus Abydenis, Asclepiades of Trallium, &c. refuse to communicate with his Successor, Petrus Gnaphcus, only because he was a Heretick; take no notice of his being consti-
tut d*

rated in the room of one Unsynodically deposed, and are ready to communicate with him as a true Patriarch of Antioch, if he will but forsake his Heresy.

IN the year CCCLXXI. Peter the Successor of S. Athanasius in the See of Alexandria, because he was Orthodox, was violently deposed by Palladius the prefect of Egypt; and the High-Treasurer Magnus, by the order of Valens the Arian Emperour, and Lucius an Arian was made Bishop in his place. That

there was not any Synod concerned in his deprivation, is plain beyond all controversy from what is related by (a) Hist. l. 4. c. 21. (b) L. 4. c. 21. (c) L. 6. c. 19. (d) Apud Theodoret. l. 4. c. 22. Vide quoque libel. Synodicum Syn. 70.

(e) Τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τοῖς Ἀθανασίῃ διδασκαλίαις ἐντετραμμένον, ἕτα ἑναντίαν τροπὴν δεασάμενον ἢ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀπίστη συνίστατον.

is plain beyond all controversy from what is related by (a) Theodoret, (b) Socrates, (c) Sozomen, and by (d) Peter himself in that Epistle, which he wrote to the Catholick Church concerning his Deprivation. Though Peter was in this manner deposed, yet the Cathelicks of the Church of Alexandria, did not upon that account keep off from Lucius's Communion, but only upon the account of his being a Heretick. This I gather from those words of Theodoret (e). But the People having been nourished with the Doctrine of Athanasius, when they saw that quite contrary Food was offer'd them, kept off from the Churches. Not a word any where that the unjust deprivation of Peter, was one of the Causes of their Separation.

And Peter himself in the aforesaid Epistle, though with a great deal of Rhetorick he endeavours to set forth the Crimes of Lucius, and to excite all the Church, to whom he writes, to the greatest abhorrence of his Actions, yet he does not raise this Objection against him, that he was thrust into the Throne whilst he himself was yet living. He only complains, 1st. That he was a Heretick, and 2d. That he was made Bishop without any Regular and Customary Proceedings; That he had bought the Bishoprick, like a secular Office, with Money; was created Bishop neither by a Synod of Orthodox Bishops, nor by the Votes of the lawful Clergy, nor by the Postulation of the People, as the Laws of the Church required. There were with him no Bishops, no Presbyters or Deacons, no multitudes of People, no Monks going before him singing Hymns. He thought (as it seems) that there was nothing more requir'd for the making his Successor true Bishop of that See, but Orthodoxy and a Regular Election.

S. 2. In the year CCCCXXXV. S. Briceus Archbishop of Tours, the Successor of S. Martin was deposed, after he had been Bishop above 32 years, by the (f) Inhabitants of that City. They suspected him to be guilty of Incontinence, and although it was only a suspicion, yet out he must go. In his

Room they plac'd one Justinian, who shortly after dyed; then they made one Armentius their Bishop, who continu'd in that See till he died, for near the space of seven years.

non credentibus, sed contradicentibus, trahitur, calumniatur, ejicitur—hoc enim ejactio Justinianum Episcopum constituit, &c. Greg. Turon. Hist. l. 2. cap. 1.

years. In the mean time *Briccius* remained at *Rome*, there making his complaint to the Pope, and (*) (*) *V. Greg. Turon. loco cit.* endeavouring to be restor'd. So far was he from consenting to the consecration of *Armentius*. I here observe, that the Historian *Gregory* who was one of the Arch-bishops of that See, and flourish'd in the year 573. when he treats of this Affair, makes no manner of mention of any disturbance in the Church occasion'd by this injustice, not a word to the contrary, but that *Armentius* was readily acknowledged by all of that district, and by all the Bishops of *France*. Had there been any disturbance, he could not but have known it, and if he had known it, he would not have fail'd to have mentioned it; for he himself very highly resents the injustice which the holy *Briccius* suffer'd. He tells us, that *Justinian's* dying so soon, was a Judgment of God upon him. He thinks it so, because (as he himself relates) God had wrought certain Miracles by the hand of *Briccius* to convince the People of his Innocence, yet they would not be convinc'd, and notwithstanding those great Miracles turn'd him out, and made *Justinian* their Bishop. I observe in the 2d. place, that the Historian, who himself (as I said) was Bishop of that See, and moreover a Saint, reckons *Justinian* and *Armentius* in the Catalogue of his predecessors the Arch-bishops of *Tours*. For though in that Catalogue of the Bishops of that See, which is added at the end of the last Book, *Briccius* is call'd the Fourth, and *Eustochius*, who succeeded upon his Death, is call'd the Fifth Bishop from the first Institution of the See, yet throughout the whole History, *Justinian* and *Armentius* are reckoned in the number. For (a) *Perpetuus* who succeeded *Eustochius*, is call'd the Fifth Bishop after *S. Martin*. *Virus*, who was the 2d. from *Eustochius*, is call'd the (b) 7th. Bishop after *S. Martin*. To him succeeded *Licinius*, and him he calls the (c) 8th. Bishop after *S. Martin*. Now unless *Justinian* and *Armentius* are included in the Number, *Perpetuus* will be only the 3d. Bishop after *S. Martin*, *Virus* only the 5th, and *Licinius* only the 6th. Thirdly, I observe, that *S. Briccius*, though he was so unjustly depos'd by barely the Violence of the People, and though he never had given up his right, but had all along endeavour'd to recover it, yet he himself own'd *Armentius* to be a true Bishop of *Tours*, and calls him his Brother. The Historian tells us, that when he was sent back to *Tours* by the Pope to be restor'd, as he lay at some distance from the City, *Armentius* died, and the death of *Armentius* being reveal'd to him by a Vision, he thus cried out to his Company; Arise quickly, that we may go to the Funeral of (d) our Brother the Bishop of *Tours*.

(a) L. 2. c. 14.

(b) L. 2. c. 26.

(c) L. 2. c. 39.

Denique migrante viro
(so it must be read,
not *Eustochius*) *Turonorum*
Episcopo, octavum post sanctum Martinum,
Licinius Turonicis Episcopus ordinatur.

(d) *Ait suis, Surgite velocius, ut ad tumulandum fratrem nostrum Turonicum pontificem occurramus.*

§. 3. In the year 452. *Juvenalis* being Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, *Theodosius* a certain turbulent Monk, and an Adversary of the Council of *Chalcedon*, had (e) by the slaughter of a great many Persons, got himself to be ordained Patriarch of that

(e) *Vide Imp. Marcian. Epistolam apud Sec.*

acta concilii Chalced.
parte 3. c. 8. d. 851.
et ejusdem Epistolam a-
liam, ibid. c. 9. p.
856. Vide et Evag.
l. 2. c. 5. et Cyrillum
Scythop. V. S. Eu-
thym. p. 55. 56.

(c) S. Euthymius
 was at that time in
 the 76th. Year of
 his Age. *V. Vitam ejus,*
p. 54.

(d) Μη μοι γένοι-
 το ταῖς μισοποιαῖς
 Θεοδοσίου, ἢ τῇ ὑπ'
 αὐτοῦ ἀχθῆναι κακο-
 δοξίᾳ, *ib. p. 56.*

(e) Καὶ ὡς ταῖς
 ἰδίαις μισοποιαῖς
 χρησάμενος, βαρβα-
 ρικῶ τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ἱερο-
 σολύμων πατριαρχι-
 κὸν θρόνον ἀπαχρεῖ,
 καταστρεφένους τῶν
 θείων κανόνων πολλὰς
 ἐχειροτόνησεν ἐπισκο-
 πους. *Cyrl. loc. cit.*

(f) He is reckon-
 in the Catalogue of the Bishops of Jerusalem, by Nicephorus Patriarch of Constantinople.
μς. Ἰουβανάλιος. μς. Θεοδοσιος ὁ ἐκκλησιεὺς ὑπὸ Μαρσιανῆ καὶ πάλιν Ἰουβανάλιος.

(g) There fell off, says Evagrius, l. 3. c. 6. from the Communion of Timotheus
 Ἄλurus, Ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Θεοδοσιος εἰς τὸν ὑπὸ Θεοδοσίου ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰόσπην κακουργο-
 νημένον τῷ τῆς ἐπὶ σολύμων ἐπισκόπῳ πρὸς τινὰν γεγονότος ὅτε πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον Ἰουβ-
 νάλι. ἀνέδραμεν.

S. 4. Timotheus Ἄlurus, a notorious Eutychian Heretick, who as such had been
 formerly condemn'd by a Synod (h) of all the Bishops

(h) *Epist. Episcopo-*
rum et Cler. Aegypti,
ap. Evag. l. 2. c. 8.

(i) Ibidem.

as such judicially condemn'd. Being made Bishop after this irregular man-
 ner, his Predecessor

(k) *Evag. l. 2. c. 11.*

(k) depose'd and banish'd by the Authority of the Em-
 perour, and the Judgment of the Bishops of the Catho-
 lick Church, and an

(l) *Ibid. l. 3. c. 4.*

See, though Juvenalis was still alive, and had never
 been depose'd by any Synod, nor yet by the Emperour
 himself; yet the only Objection that the (c) Venera-
 ble, the Great, and Orthodox Abbot, S. Euthymius, made
 against him, when urg'd to acknowledge him as Patri-
 arch, and to communicate with him, was this, That he
 had been guilty of many Murders, and was likewise a
 Heretick. (d) God forbid (says he) I should approve of his
 Murders, and ill Opinions. Concerning Juvenalis, that he
 had not been Synodically deprived, and that therefore it
 was not lawful to acknowledge a Successor, not a word.
 Theodosius had ordained many Bishops in the room of
 those Orthodox Bishops who were not yet returned
 from the Council, and all places that were vacant he
 filled up. After some little time, he was depose'd by
 the Emperour, and Juvenalis being restored, was
 commanded by the Emperour to depose all those Bi-
 shops whom he had ordained. But though he had usurp'd
 the See after so (e) barbarous a manner, and though they
 that had been ordained by him, were as uncanonically
 ordained as possibly they could be, yet (f) they who
 were Orthodox, were still accounted true Bishops, and
 if their Predecessors were dead, were still continued
 in their Sees. This appears from the Example of (g).
 Theodosius Bishop of Joppa, who, though he was ordained
 by him, yet continued long after that time Bishop of
 that See, and was owned as such by the Orthodox.

Orthodox Person, Timotheus Salofaciolus, was constituted his
 Successor. After 18 years Salofaciolus was (l) depose'd
 by the sole Authority of the Heretical Usurper Basili-
 fuscus, and Ἄlurus being recall'd from Banishment, was a-
 gain

gain made Bishop of *Alexandria*. Whilst he was at *Constantinople* with the Emperor *Basiliscus*, *Acacius* the stout and Orthodox Patriarch of that City, would not suffer him to enter into any of his Churches. And why not? Not because he was substituted in the room of one unjustly deposed by the bare Authority of *Basiliscus*, but because he was a *Heretick* and a *Murderer*. So Pope *Simplicius*, in one of his (b) *Epistles* to *Acacius*. Thy constancy, says he, is praise worthy both in the sight of God and in ours, in that thou wouldst not suffer that condemn'd Person to enter into any of the Churches of *Constantinople*, not only because he was a *Heretick*, but likewise because he was a *Parricide*.

Idem etiam paricidii causa nullam Constantinensi Ecclesiam introire permiseris.

(b) *Epist. 6. Et dilectionis tue laudando constantiam multum nobis, imo ipsi Domino placere memoravimus, quod damnatum hominem, non solum fidei,*

§. 5. In the year 482. *Johannes Talaia*s (or *Tabennesiotes*) an Orthodox Patriarch of *Alexandria*, was deposed by the Emperour *Zeno*, and *Petrus Mongus*, one who had been formerly deposed from that See for being an *Eutychian*, but had now subscribed to the Orthodox Faith, and had been absolv'd by *Acacius* the Patriarch of *Constantinople* was made Bishop in his stead. The reason why *Talaia*s was deposed, was this, There having been great Seditions rais'd at *Alexandria* in the elections of the Patriarchs, the Emperour had been forc'd to deprive that Church and People of their ancient Right of Election, and to take upon him to constitute their Patriarch himself. The Patriarch *Timotheus Salofaciolus* being again restored to that See, sends

(c) *Talaia*s, his *Oeconomus* or the *Treasurer* of the Church, to *Constantinople* to the Emperour, to thank him for his restoring him, and withal to beg of him, that after his (*Salofaciolus's*) Death, the Church of *Alexandria* might have a free Election. This the Emperour grants, but suspecting that *Talaia*s might have took upon him to negotiate this Affair, that so he himself might obtain the dignity, he made him take an Oath that he himself would never endeavour to obtain it. *Talaia*s returning home with the Emperour's Grant, was, after the Death of *Salofaciolus*, chosen Patriarch by the Orthodox party, and the Emperour disliking the Election, deposed him as guilty of Perjury. That *Talaia*s was really guilty, he himself would never acknowledge, alleging that it was only because he was *Orthodox*, that he was deposed. But guilty or not guilty, deposed he was, and that too by barely the Emperour's

Authority, as appears from (d) *Evagrius*, (e) *Liberatus* *Diaconus*, and the *Epistles* of Pope (f) *Gelasius*, that he

(c) *Liberatus* *Diac. Brev. c. 16. Evag. l. 3. c. 12.*

(d) *L. 3. c. 12, 13.*

Ἐς ἐπισκοπον τῶν Ἀλεξανδρίαν προβάλλεται ἄπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς γινῶς, καί τινος μὲν ἀνελθόντων κλένει ἀποδύνην δὲ τινος προσδύνειν πρὸς τὰς Ἀλεξανδρίας γραφεῖς, ἵνα πρὸς ἐναντίον κέκληκε δεσπότης ἀποδοῦναι Πέτρῳ τὸν θρόνον τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου, &c.

(e) *Breviario c. 17. Quis jucundissime suscepit Acacius, & imperatori presentavit, & persuasit ei, ut scriberet Apollonio Augustali, & duci Pergamo, ut Joannem ab Alexandria sede, quasi eam contra suum jussurandum, quod in regia civitate dedit, arripuisset, expelleret. Joannes Talaia judicatur à Zenone episcopatu pelli. Vide c. 18.*

(f) *Verbis infra adducendis.*

(a) *Epist. 17. dat. mense Julio an. 482.*

Nuper ab Ægypti Synodo quæ & numero plurima, & fidei Catholica esset communione suffulta, atq; ab ipsi omni propemodum clero Alexandriæ sedis ad nos ex more relatione missa patefecit, sanctæ memoriæ fratrem quondam & coepiscopum nostrum obfisse Timotheum, inq; ejus vicem consonâ fidelium voluntate Joannem, cui ad sacerdotium constare crederentur omnia, subrogatum, &c.

(b) *Brev. c. 17. Vide quoque Gesta de nomine Acacii.*

(c) *Theophanes Chron. Nicephorus Call. l. 16. Victor Tun. ad Conf. Asterii & Præsidi.*

Though *Tulaias* had been thus Arbitrarily Deposed by the Emperor, without any Synod, and without any Trial or Hearing, and had never surrender'd up his Right: Yet I observe,

First, That all they who thought his Successor *Mongus* a true and sincere Convert to the Orthodox Faith, and in that respect sufficiently qualified, very freely acknowledged him, and Communicated with him.

1. *Acacius* the Patriarch of *Constantinople* did so; though in all other Cases he had always shewn a great deal of Courage, and Resolution, and Zeal for the Orthodox Faith. When the Usurper *Basiliscus* had issued out a Decree against the Council of *Chalcedon*, and in Obedience to that at least 500 Bishops had deserted the Orthodox Profession, he stoutly stood up for the Faith, and

so (d) briskly opposed him, that the Tyrant was forced to recall his Edict. At the same time when *Elurus* the Heretical Patriarch of *Alexandria* would have gone to Church at *Constantinople* though supported and patroniz'd by the Emperor, yet he would not permit him to enter into any Church there. Upon this account (as has been above observ'd) his Constancy is highly prais'd by Pope *Simplicius*; And by the same Pope he is (e) elsewhere, Intituled, *Probatissimus Sacerdos*. And even at that time that he Communicated with *Mongus* he retain'd the same Zeal, and could never be persuaded to Communicate with one whom he himself thought an *Eutychian*, or an Enemy of the Council of *Chalcedon*. When *Calendion* the Orthodox Patriarch of *Antioch* was turn'd out by the Emperor, and a Notorious Heretick, *Petrus Gnapheus*, was made Patriarch in his place, there was nothing (f) could ever persuade him to receive him into Communion; and he join'd (g) with Pope *Felix III.* to Depose him. And the same Zeal

(d) *Evag. l. 3. c. 7. Theodorus Lector. l. 1. p. 556. Autor Vita S. Danielis Stylite ap. Swium in Decemb. c. 41. Acacium qui tunc sedem tenebat pontificalem, qui rectam quidem defendebat rationem, illius autem dogmatum tempestati spiritus fervore & dicendi libertate, vehementer resistebat, vult Basiliscus morte mulcare.*

(e) *Epist. ad Archimandritas Constantinop.*

(f) *Cui usq; in finem se non communicasse gloriabatur Acacius.*

(g) *Epist. Felicis III. ad Gnapheum & ad In p. Zenonem, & Acacii ipsius Epistola ad Gnapheum ap. Tom. 4. Concil.*

he

he shew'd in Respect to *Mongus* himself: For as soon as he had heard that *Mongus* had Condemn'd the Council of Chalcedon, he (a) sent away immediately to *Alexandria* to enquire into the Truth of the Accusation. Whether *Mongus* had really done so, is uncertain: Certain it is, That he produced to *Acacius's* Messengers certain Acts to prove himself Innocent; and that if he had appear'd to have been Guilty, *Acacius* would have utterly rejected him. If the Writers of the Church of *Rome* have Condemn'd *Acacius* as an ill Man, and a Heretick, we know that they did it, not because he really was so, but because he Communicated with *Mongus*, whom the Popes of that time accounted and Condemn'd as a Heretick: And we know very well why the Popes did so; They knew that *Mongus* had (b) subscribed to the Orthodox Faith, and that he had been absolv'd by *Acacius*; But because it was done by *Acacius*, and not by the Pope, they look'd upon that Fact as Derogatory to the See of *Rome*; and therefore to maintain their own Grandeur, they declar'd the Absolution of *Mongus* Invalid, and that consequently he was still to be accounted a Heretick. Then *Acacius* was Excommunicated by Pope *Felix III.* as one that Communicated with a Heretick, so in shew: but the true Reason was, because he endeavoured to advance the See of *Constantinople* above that of *Rome*. This Excommunication was the Reason, why some later Writers, even amongst the *Greeks*, are wont to speak of *Acacius* as of one inclin'd to the *Eutychians*; so besides a great many others, *Theophanes the Chronographer*, and the Patriarch *Photius* in a Treatise (c) not yet Publish'd. Though *Acacius* during all his Life-time, and for many years after, was highly honour'd by the Orthodox at *Constantinople*, and by the generality of the Eastern Church, as a great and truly Orthodox Patriarch, and no notice at all was taken of the Pope's Excommunication; yet at last, after the Expiration of 37 years, by the importunity of Pope *Hormisdas*, that so the two Churches, the *Eastern* and the *Western* might be Reconcil'd, (d) his Name was struck out of the *Diptychs*. Then the *Greeks* began to imitate the *Latins*, and to speak ill of him whom before they had deservedly Honour'd. It is certain, in a word, that whatever *Mongus* in reality was in the life time of *Acacius*, yet outwardly he seem'd to be Orthodox. If he was in reality a Heretick, that *Acacius* knew not, and according to (e) *Facundus*, Aliud est, si quisque simpliciter in Heretico dolos suos occultiente fallatur, ut cum putet

(a) *Evag. l. 3. c. 16.*(b) *Vide Evag. l. 3. c. 17. 22. Gelasius Papa I. epist. ad orient. Episc. Sed solvit illum auctoritate sua prius Acacius, & sic suscepit.*(c) *De Episcopis & Metropolitibus, &c. Μετά τὴν τετάρτην σύνοδον ἐγένετο πατερίας ἡ Κωνσταντινουπόλις ἡ ἐκείνη, ἐπὶ τῇ τῇ Σεβήρῃ ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν ὁ Ἀκάκιος ὁ ἐκ τῆς ἐμνημονεύσης παρὰ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Διπτύχοις, καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐκρίθησαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ἐν ἑνὶ τῶν πατριαρχῶν ἐδύχοντο τῆς μετὰ Ἀκακίῳ γεγονότων, καὶ τὰ ὁρθόδοξα ὄντων, καὶ αἰτία αὐτῆς ἐμνημονεύσης παρὰ αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀκάκιος, μετὰ δὲ τὰ ὅσα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, τὸν πρῶτον Ἰουστινιανόν, ἐξέβαλλον τὸν Ἀκάκιον ἐκ τῶν Διπτύχων, καὶ συνεκκινώσαντες τοὺς ἁγίων πολιταίων, μηδὲν ἐγκαλέσαντες αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν Ἀκακίῳ μνήμην, μήτε ἐυθύνοντες αὐτὸς ἀναμνησκόμενοι γὰρ τῆς αἰτίας τῆς σκανδαλίου, εἶδει συνηναι εἰς πάντας τὸ ἀγάπησιν καὶ τὸ κοινῶναι.*(d) In the beginning of the Emperour *Justin*. *Photius* in the place above quoted, says *Ignorant* for *legibus*.(e) *Defens. 3. capit. l. 7. c. 3.*

Orthodoxum: Et aliud, si ipsammet ejus Hæresim agnitam scilicet atque defendat.---
Non debet crimini deputari supplicium non intellecta versatia malignorum;

2. So did likewise *Fravitas* the Successor of *Acacius*. As he took no notice of the Pope's Excommunication of *Acacius*, so as soon as he was made Patriarch, he sent away his (a) Communicatory Letters to *Mongus*.

(a) *Evag.* l. 3. c. 23.

(b) *Cyrillus Synopol.* *Vind. S. Euhymii* p. 86. & *V. S. Sabæ* p. 244, 245.

(c) *L. 3. c. 16.* Ἡρώδης δὲ τὸ πρῶτον τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως πρεσβύτερος Ἀκακίου καὶ Μαρτύριου; δὲ ὁ ἐξοπλόμενος ἐπίσκοπος συνεδίκαυεν περὶ τὸν Πέτρον ἐκχρεώσας τοὺς ἁλλοδαπούς.

4. So did in a word all the Greek or Eastern Catholics, as many as thought him no Heretick, not taking any notice at all of his being put into the place of another Deposed without any Synod. This appears from the (d) Epistles of Pope *Gelasius* l. *Omnes Pontifices Orientales*: So *Gelasius* says expressly; who, because it was done without the consent of the Popes his Predecessors, and because he himself accounted *Mongus* a Heretick, is very angry with 'em for it. Neither were they compell'd to it by the Patriarch *Acacius*, as *Theophanes*, who liv'd at that time when *Acacius* was accounted a Heretick, would needs persuade us. For 'tis plain from Pope *Gelasius* ad *Episcopos Orientales*, that they all did it readily, and that no one pretended that he had been compell'd to it.

(d) *Epist. ad Orient. Episcopos.* Tunc istud nemo discutiebat, synodum nemo poscebat, passim omnia licite fieri à quibuscumque videbantur; nullum discrimen rerum, nulla examinatio postulabatur ecclesie, sed prout de uno quoque venisset in mentem, de suis urbibus Catholicis pellebatur Episcopus, non solum Metropolitanus, sed etiam tertius (sc. Antiochenus) & secundæ sedis Antistes. In his nulla verum investigatio querebatur, nulla faciendæ concilia jussabantur, &c. Certe quæ sedes Apostolica decreverat, Orientalibus Episcopis non innovasse jussatur—Ubi tamen non solum reus tenebatur *Acacius*, sed omnes Pontifices Orientales, qui pari modo in hæc decedere contagia, meritisq; simili damnatione tenentur obstricti, &c.

Secondly, I observe, That among all those who refus'd to Communicate with *Mongus*, there is no one said to have done so on the account of his being Constituted in the place of one *Unsynodically* Deposed, that their only Reason was, because they accounted him a Heretick. So *Theophanes* supposes of those Eastern Bishops and others, who he says were compell'd by *Acacius* to receive *Mongus* into Communion.

1. It is plain from the Epistle of the Bishops of *Dardania* to Pope *Gelasius*, That that was their only Reason. They only allege he was a Heretick, say nothing of the *Unsynodical* Deprivation of his Predecessor.

2. The same is intimated by *Evagrius* concerning *Calendion* the Patriarch of *Antioch*. In his Letters, says he, to the Emperor *Zeno*, and *Acacius*, he call'd Peter (*Mongus*) an Adulterer, (a) saying, That being at *Alexandria* he Anathematiz'd the Council of *Chalcedon*.

(a) Μοιχὸν τὸν Πέτρον ἐπεκάλεσε, λέγων ὡς τὸν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι συνοδὸν ἀναθεματίζειν. l. 3. c. 16.

3. *Euphemius* (says the same (a) Author) being made Patriarch of *Constantinople* in the room of *Fravitas* deceased, receiv'd the Synodical Epistle which *Mongus* had written to *Fravitas*, and when he found that he Anathematiz'd the Council of *Chalcedon*, (so he ventur'd to do as soon as *Acacius* was Dead, which he dar'd not do before, at least not publicly) he was very much troubled and broke off from his Communion. Hence it plainly appears that before that time he freely Communicated with him, and that now he broke off upon only the account of *Herese*; yet how *Orthodox* a Person he was, and how stout and courageous a Bishop, is very Notorious. That sufficiently appears from his Behaviour to *Anastafius*. When being a great Person in the Court of the Emperor *Zeno*, *Anastafius* had discover'd his Inclination to *Eutychianism*, and did something prejudicial to the Cause of the *Orthodox*, *Euphemius* the Patriarch (b) thrust him out of the Church, and threaten'd him, that if he did not desist from his Practices, he would shave his Head for him, and deliver him up to the Mockeries of the Rabble. When the same *Anastafius* was to be Crown'd Emperor in the room of *Zeno*, he (c) refus'd to give his consent till he had forced him to give him an Assurance under his Hand, That he never would innovate in Matters of Religion. And he afterwards so stoutly opposed him, as to suffer Expulsion and Banishment.

4. As it appears from (d) *Evagrius* and others, That the *Proterians*, or the *Orthodox* of *Egypt*, acknowledged *Mongus* for their Bishop; so we are told by (e) *Liberatus Diaconus*, that when it was Reported that he had Anathematiz'd the Council of *Chalcedon*, they that believ'd he had done so separated from him. Et his ita gestis, absecesserunt quidam à Petri Communione, & Romam nuntiaverunt Papæ Romæ.

5. When Pope *Simplicius* had receiv'd a Letter from the Emperor concerning his design to Depose *Talaia*, he was so far well enough satisfied, and nothing displeas'd him, till Reading further in the Letter he found that a *Heretick*, i. e. one whom he accounted a *Heretick*, was design'd for his Successor. This he owns in his Letter to *Acacius*. (i) When, says he, according to Custom I was about to send to John my Confirmatory Letters, I receiv'd a Letter from the Emperor, in which he declar'd him unworthy of the Dignity, as being guilty of Perjury. I forthwith stop'd, and recall'd my Sentence of Confirmation, lest I should be judg'd to have acted rashly indignum. Illico retraxi pedem, & meam revocavi super ejus Confirmatione sententiam, ne quid contra tantum ac tale Testimonium præpropere fecisse judicaret. Sed illud me non mediocriter fecit attonitum, quod ejusdem literis suis Petrum, qui Hereticorum socius dudum extitisse præbatur & Princeps, quod Conscientiam dilectionis tue meminimus non latere, instructionesque ipsas, quibus fuerit consultatus, nosse confidimus, quemque etiam dubium non sit adhuc extra Communionem durare Catholicam, sæpèque nos de eodem ex illâ urbe pellendo scripsisse sit certum, ad Præfatæ Ecclesiæ regimen existimes provehendum, &c.

(a) Καὶ ὑποκώως τὸ καὶ ἔν ἐν Καλλικρόνι πεπερασμένων Ἀναθέμα. λαὸν ἐταράχτητο καὶ αὐτὸν τὸ πρὸς Πέτρον κοινωνίας ἀπέριψε. I. 3. c. 23.

(b) Theoph. Chron. p. 175.

(c) Evag. l. 3. c. 32. Theodorus Lector l. 2. p. 558.

(d) I. 3. c. 13. Δέχεται Πίστες καὶ τὸς ἐν τῇ Πρωτεύει μοιεύς.

(e) Brev. c. 18.

(f) Epist. 17. Cum ecce secundum Consuetudinem mihi talia disponenti Tranquillissimi Principis scripta sunt reddita, quibus memoratum tanquam perjurii reum, quod Fraternalitati quæque tuæ non esse diceretur incognitum, Sacerdotio perhiberet

in opposition to so great a Testimony. But this extremely astonish'd me, that in the same Letter he mentions that he thought fit to promote Peter in his room, one who was ere while a Ringleader of the Hereticks, and is still to be presum'd to be out of the Communion of the Church. He adds, That if Peter (Mongus) did desire to return to the Church, he could not be made a Bishop till, by Penance, according to the Rules of the Church, he had made ample Satisfaction; That it was not safe for the Church that he should be promoted to that Bishoprick, lest by making a shew of being a Convert he should propagate his Heresie.

(a) *Opportunitatibus ergo repertis, Clementissimi Principis voluntatem incessabiliter pro fide Catholicâ supplicando & ab his sedulo revocare quæ nociva sunt Dogmatibus Christiano, &c.*

He begs Acacius to do his utmost endeavour with the Emperor, that Mongus might not be made Bishop; (a) to intercede with him incessantly for the Catholic Faith, that what was done in prejudice to it might be Revok'd. Concerning the Unlawfulness of a Bishops succeeding another before that other was Synodically Deposed, not a word. The same Pope in another Epistle to Acacius, which in order follows

the former, but was written before it, and before these times just after the Emperor Zeno was restor'd upon the Expulsion of Basiliscus, when the Heretick Timotheus Aelurus was made Bishop of Alexandria in the room of Timotheus Salofaciolus the Orthodox Patriarch, whom Basiliscus had Deposed; I say, in that Epistle he desires Acacius to take care to intercede with the Emperor that the Heretick Bishops might be turn'd out and Banish'd, and that either the ejected Orthodox Bishops might be Restored, or at least new Orthodox Bishops be Created. Quatenus his submotis atque in solitudinis perpetua relegatione damnatis, Antisites Catholici deceptis vel reddantur Ecclesiis vel creentur. Whether old ones or new ones, was to him altogether indifferent; he only desired they should be Orthodox. So (as is above observ'd in the forgoing Section) he highly extolls Acacius's Constancy in forbidding Aelurus to enter into any of his Churches, because he was a Heretick and a Murderer; takes no notice at all of his being put into the room of Salofaciolus Unsynodically Deposed.

6. Pope Felix III. in his two first Pathetical Epistles which he wrote in his own Name, and the Name of a Synod of Rome, to Acacius and the Emperor, concerning the promotion of Mongus, takes no notice at all of Talaia's being Deposed without a Synod: He only complains that Mongus was a Heretick. So likewise in his sixth Epistle to Acacius, wherein he Excommunicates him, and declares him Deposed; the great Reason assign'd, is, because he continu'd to Communicate with the Heretick Mongus. And though there are other pretended Crimes charg'd upon him, yet concerning any Crime committed by him in Communicating with a Person put into the place of another Unsynodically Deposed, there is nothing alleged.

We may gather lessly from Evagrius, That Talaia himself did not think it Unlawful for the People and Clergy of Egypt to accept of another Patriarch,

(b) *L. 3. c. 15.* if that other had been likewise Orthodox. He says, (b) says Evagrius, to Rome, and raises there very great Stirs, affirming (not that another could

not be put into his place, because he was not Deposed by a Synod, but) that it was for his defending the Council of Chalcedon that he was Deposed, and that he that was Constituted his Successor was an Enemy to the Doctrine of that Council. By these Allegations, Simplicius Pope of Rome was so far moved, as to write to the Emperor concerning him. And the Emperor return'd him this Answer, That 'twas only for Perjury that he had been Deposed, not on any other account.

7. In the year 483. *Calendion* the Orthodox Patriarch of *Antioch* was Deposed (a) by the Emperor *Zeno*, as suspected to have conspired against him with the Rebels *Illus* and *Leontius*. That he was Deposed without any *Synod*, is manifest from the express Testimony of (b) Pope *Gelasius I.*

(a) *Evag. l. 3. c. 16. Liberatus Diac. c. 4. 18.*

(b) *Epist. ad Orient. Episcopos. Sed miramur, cur*

eos non pudeat in istorum damnatione de Synodo non facta causari, cum sciant tot tantosque Pontifices (Calendionem, Talaiam, &c.) nullā Synodo fuisse depulsos, &c. So expressly in several other Places. See the place above quoted, where by *tertia Sedis Antijies* is meant *Calendion* of *Antioch*.

Though Deposed in this manner, yet his Successor *Petrus Gnapheus*, a notorious Heretick, was rejected by none of the Orthodox upon any other account, but because he was a Heretick.

1. Pope *Felix III.* in his two Epistles to *Petrus Gnapheus*, (in the latter of which he declares him Deposed) and in another, which he writes to the Emperor to desire that he might be Ejected, takes no notice at all of *Calendion*, no notice at all of his being *Unsynodically* Deposed; the only thing he objects against *Gnapheus*, is, his being a Heretick. For this, and for this alone, he Deposes him; and he plainly intimates, that if he would forsake his Heresie, there was nothing else to be objected against him. He tells the Emperor, That (c)

the Church had Deposed him because he was a Heretick. And to him himself, (d) Forsake (says he) I beseech thee this Error; Thou art fallen, do not lie as thou art; Thou hast Sin'd, do not continue to do so; The Holy Church of God expects thee, she desires to embrace thee a Penitent, and a Convert to her Faith; She cries out to thee by us, Come to me all you that Labour, &c. God wills not, most Honour'd Brother, the Death of a Sinner, but that he should be Converted and Live--- These Things, I, together with a Synod, have written to thee, Conjurings thee by God and the Holy Angels, that thou Preach these Things; and agree with us in the True Faith; That so our Faith may remain Unadulterated to the Glory of God. The same is to be said of all those Bishops whose Epistles to *Gnapheus* are extant in the 4th. Tome of the Councils; not one takes notice of his being Invalidly Constituted in the room of *Calendion*. Heresie is the only Thing they object, that the only Thing they exhort him to forsake.

ὅς τὸ ἐπιστρέψαι καὶ ἔξιν αὐτὸν ταῦτά σοι γέγραμκα ἕματα ἡ συνήθη μοι ἀγία συνέδη, παρεμβαμένους σε ἐναποποιεῖς τῷ Θεῷ καὶ ἡμῶν ἀγίῳ ἀρχόντι, ἵνα ταῦτα διδόντες καὶ ταῦτα φέρεις μετ' ἡμῶν ἵνα ἀνθέμενος ἡ πίστις ἡμῶν διαμείνη εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ.

(c) Ἐπὶ πάντων δὲ τέτοις τοῖς ἀπεβίβει καὶ βλασφημοῖς αὐτῷ τοιμήμασι, καὶ τῷ τρισάγιον λιπὴν νοθεύσαι βουλῇσι, διὰ τὰ ἐγθίσειν ἐν αὐτῷ ὁ σωρευθεὶς δι' ἡμῶν μυρία ἄτοπα εἰργασματο. καὶ πολλὰ παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ ἀδελφότητος ἡμῶν τὰ καὶ ἡ ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ, καὶ τῷ Θεοπεβεστάτῳ Ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Ἀγκλίας τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν Βασιλευμενῆς καὶ φιλοχρεῖας πόλεως, παρρησιάζεις, ὅπως ἐλπίσαι ἡβελήθῃ διὰ τὸ νῦν ἡ ἀγία τῷ Θεῷ Ἐκκλησία, &c.

(d) *Epist. 3. ad f. em. Ἀντίφυγε, παρεκάλῳ ταύτην τὴν πλάνην ἐπιστάς, μηδ' ἐμμένεις τῷ πλάσματι ἡμετέροις, μηκέτι ἀμείψαντες ἀναμένει σε ἡ ἀγία τῷ Θεῷ Ἐκκλησία, περιηψέσθαι σε μετριοσύντα ὅτι ποῖς ματαιώεις σε περιβλήμασι, καὶ σὺν αὐτῇ Θεολογούντα τὸ Χρῆσθαι, καὶ μὴ ἀπαρνεύμενοι τὴν αὐτῇ ἐκφυλῶν ἐνανθρωπήσαν, καθ' ἣν καὶ τὰ πάντων ἱσχυμένους λέγεται καὶ βόλας δι' ἡμῶν διεσπείρεται μετὰ πάντας οἱ κοπιῶντες, καὶ τὰ ὅλην ἐβλάται ὁ Θεός, ἀδελφότηματάς, τὸ θύναται τὸ ἀμεστωμένον,*

(α) Πολλῶν Ἐπισκόπων ὑπομνηκώσω σε, μέλιστα τῶ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Φήλικος, τῶ ταύτην ἡγουμένῳ σε, καὶ ὑβὴ καὶ Ὁρθόδοξον τῶ τῶ σωτηρίας κηρύγματι. — τίς ἐστὶ ἀνέξεταί σε διασφραγίσαντος τὸ τῶ Χριστοῦ εὐαγγέλιον; (ad finem) ἔτως ἐν καὶ σὺ λίσσῃ καὶ πένθῃ καὶ ἡ καὶ καὶ μελετῇ ἐξενεχθῆναι ὁ γὰρ εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔξει ἔτι τὸ καθάριστος ὑπὸ τῶ πάπα ἡμῶν Φήλικος.

(β) Παῦσαι ἐν τῇ τοιαύτης σὺ ἀσέβει, φραγίσαντος, μὴ προδύναι τὸ σκανδαλὸν σκάδαλον καὶ μὴ ἐσθῆτι ἀπολείας ἢ ἀπλυστέρων ἀνθρώπων μήπως ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἡμῶν φήλῃ καὶ τὸ καὶ οὕτως ἀποφύνηται καὶ σὺ, καὶ ἔνδον σε ἀρετῇ τὸ λίσσῃ. ἐγὼ ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ ἀπεισιμένῳ τῷ σωτηρίας ἐν τῇ τοιαύτης ὁμολογῇ ἄσπον ἀπορίαν ἐν τῇ δικαίῃ. μήπως τὰ χροὶ τῷ πεισιμένῳ ὅτι τὸ ἀσέβει, ἔγωγε δεκτικὸν τὸ δὲ ἄμνητον, ἢ δεξάμενος ἀδελφῶ σε παραίνεσιν, καὶ σέβει. τὸ ἐξουσία καὶ αἰρετικῶν, καὶ γὰρ ποιμὴν ἢ πρεσβύτων, καὶ ἐλκός, &c.

(γ) ἵνα μὴ γένη τῇ Θεῷ ἱερατείας ἀλλότ. — τῇ Βασιλικῇ ὁδῷ σεαυτὸν καὶ ποιμὴν σε ἐδήρουν, καὶ ἦν καὶ οἱ ἐν Χαλκηδόνι ἄγιοι πατέρες βασιλεύοντες, κατέλαβον τὴν ὁδόν.

(δ) Ἦκουσα παρὰ πολλῶν Ἐπισκόπων ἀγαπητῇ ἐννευκαίῃ σε τῇ Ὁρθοδοξίᾳ καὶ τῷ πανταχῇ πεινῇ καὶ διὰ ἀναγκαίον ἡγουμένην πυθέσθαι παρὰ σὺ ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἔτως ἔχει. — βλέπε, ἀγαπητῇ. μὴ εἰς πέρας ἀξῇς τὸ διαφραγίζομενον περὶ σὺ, &c.

(ε) Διὰ τὸ τοῖνον, ὡς περὶ πρῶτον εὐρητὴν καὶ ἀσέβει τῶν λόγων. δεδύνημαι τοῖς καὶ σὺ ὁπτιμίοις ἵσως καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐνταυτοῖς, ὅπου μιζόμενος παρὰ ἡσυχαστῶν ἀξία, θάπτον ἐξέεις Ὁρθόδοξον πατέρα, καὶ ὑπὸν καὶ ἄλλον πνεῦμα, ἐν τῷ μηδὲν τέτοις προδύναι, ἢ ὑφαρῆν, καὶ ἔχειται τῇ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀψίδος τῷ Θεῷ. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔτως ἀνάχου ἴσως οὐ κοινῶς παρὰ τῇ.

2. Quintianus Asculanus. (α) Thou proceedest, says he, in thy Heretical Doctrines notwithstanding the Admonitions of many Bishops, and particularly Pope Felix, who have exhorted thee to forsake 'em, and to preach the Orthodox Faith. — Who can bear with thee, whilst thou thus pervertest the Gospel of Christ? — Let thy Liturgy be as that of the Orthodox is (without the addition of that Clause, who wast Crucified for us) and that punishment, which is intended for thee, shall be stopt. If thou dost not do so, there will be sent thee from Pope Felix a Deprivation.

3. Justinus Siculus. (β) Cease, says he, from this Wickedness, and then thou wilt not be the cause of the Ruin of those that are more ignorant, lest our Pope Felix should according to the Canons pass Sentence upon thee. — Receive my Admonition as the Admonition of a Brother. Extinguish the Pride of Hereticks, and become a Pastor to thy Sheep, not a Wolf, &c.

4. Acacius Patriarch of Constantinople. (γ) Walk, says he, and lead thy Flock in the high way, in which the Fathers of the Council of Chalcedon walk'd, that thou mayst be a true High-Priest of God.

5. To the same purpose, Antheon Bishop of Arsinoe, and Faustus of Apollonius. (δ) I have heard, beloved, (says the latter) from many Bishops, That thou turn'st away from the Orthodox Faith, and in all places they talk of it; I therefore thought it necessary to enquire of thee thy self, whether it be really so, &c.

6. Pamphilus Bishop of Abydos. (ε) This Reprehension I send thee, that returning to the true Faith, thou mayst enjoy the Dignity of thy Throne; But if thou dost not return to the Orthodox Faith, I will Excommunicate thee.

7. *Asclepiades Bishop of Trallium.* (f) The whole World is offended at thy addition to the Trithagium; and the Pastors of the Church are deservedly excited to pronounce an Anathema against thee. Give us, I beseech thee, some little Signification of thy being Orthodox, &c.

τὸ ὅτι οὖν τὸ Θεῶν ἡ κόσμος καθολογοῦν ἐσαυρωμένον.

(f) ἰδὲ ἀγαπητὲ, πικλῶνται ὁ κόσμος ἐν τῇ ἐκθέσει σου σκανδάλῳ, καὶ τὰ βασίλεια ἐμμενόντα γέρονε, καὶ οἱ ποιμένες διεγερθεῖσαι ἐπαξίως ἀξοῦν ἐπὶ σοὶ ταλανισμὸν ὅς ἐν παρεκλήθητι, φωνῇ μίαν Ὀρθοτομία, τὰ ἐπιπρυτανεύειν τὰληθῆς ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, ἐσαυρωμένον.

The only Person that takes any notice of his being irregularly Constituted, is, *Flaccianus Rhodopensis*; and of him 'tis uncertain, whether, when he says, That *Gnapheus* was irregularly Constituted, he had any respect to the Deprivation of *Calendon*. For *Gnapheus* had been formerly deposed from the See of *Antioch*, as a Heretick; and therefore since he had never been absolv'd by the Church, he might well be said, even upon that account, to have been irregularly promoted: And to * this *Flaccianus* seems to allude. Whatever was his meaning, he only barely mentions it, does not offer it as a Reason, why the Orthodox did not, or ought not, to Communicate with him. He insists, like the rest, upon only his being a Heretick.

es à Sanctâ sede; ideoque perfectius es miserabilior omnibus hominibus, tanquam minime desiderium habens ad Deum vivum & ejus regnum Cælorum: veruntamen noli frustra pulvere dealbari, quia irregulariter Sacerdotii principatum arripuisti: neque insileris adversus nos pie rectèque predicantes.

I am not ignorant that these Epistles of *Pope Felix*, *Quintianus*, *Justinus*, *Aca-cius*, *Antheon*, *Faustus*, *Pamphilus*, and *Asclepiades* to *Petrus Gnapheus*, are lookt

upon by (g) some Learned Men not to be Genuine. But I likewise know that that Opinion is by (h) others opposed. However it be: This at least is appa- rent, that he or they, who wrote 'em, (and 'tis certain that they are very an- cient) did not doubt of the lawfulness

of Communicating with a Bishop, who was put into the place of another unjustly Deposed by the Lay-Power, provided he were not a Heretick; or, if he were, would leave his Heresie and come over to the Orthodox Faith. And here I must observe, that the Epistle last quoted, viz. That of *Flaccianus*, is Con- demn'd as Spurious, by even (i) those who will not yield that the rest should be thought so.

* At enim cribratus es Canonicè à Præ- sulibus nostris, id est, à Principe Apostolo- rum Petro, cui Dominus ait: Quodcumque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum & in Cælo. At nec hoc meruisti, ut per dignam poenitentiam relaxeris, in temetipsum statuens, ut perseveres in hac Damnatione: Sed in hac vita spem habes tantummodo in principibus, ut redeas ubi dignè ejectus

(g) *Valesius Tract. de Petro Ful- lone.*

(h) *Allix de Trisagio.*

(i) *D. Cave Hist. Liter. in Justino Sicula.*

(i) *Dr. Cave loco cit.*

CHAP. VI.

Macedonius Patriarch of Constantinople being violently Deposed by the Heretical Emperor Anastasius, his Successor Timotheus is acknowledged by all that accounted him Orthodox, though at the same time they profess'd that the Deposition of Macedonius was unjust, and could never be induced by any Terrors to subscribe to it, viz. by Flavianus Patriarch of Antioch, Elias Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Abbot of the Monastery of Studium, the (Orthodox) People of Constantinople, by the great Abbots of Palæstine, S. Sabas, and S. Theodosius, and by all Palæstine in general, at that time exceedingly flourishing for its zealous Profession of the Orthodox Faith. The Calumnies of the Vindicator concerning the Apostacy of the Patriarchs Flavianus and Elias, confuted. Timotheus not known to them to be a Heretick when they Communicated with him. They are Honoured by the Church as Saints.

(a) In the 21st year of Anastasius, says Theophanes, and out of him Cedrenus. **I**N the year (a) 511, Macedonius the Orthodox Patriarch of Constantinople was Deposed by the bare Authority of the Heretical Emperor Anastasius, and that because he was Orthodox, and refused to Condemn the Council of Chalcedon. Though Macedonius was so unjustly Deposed, yet Timotheus, whom the Emperor had constituted in his place, was receiv'd and acknowledged as true Bishop of Constantinople by all those that accounted him Orthodox. This is one of the Examples produced by the Author of the Barocian Treatise.

(b) Μέχρ' ὅτε συμβαδύματι Κέλερ ὁ ἡγεμόνος ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ τάξεν, ὁ Μακεδόνιος πατριάρχης ἦν ἐκείνων ἐξῆν θεσπίζων, l. 3. c. 32.

Emperor to carry him away into Banishment, persuaded him to go away with him peaceably and privately for the avoiding of a Tumult. That the Patriarch did not resign, but was forced to go away, and lookt upon himself

(c) C. 44. Καὶ οὕτω τέττον' ὅμαι ἦν διαβαλὼν ὁ Μακεδόνιος ἐκβεβηκῆσθαι.

(d) Hist. Eccl. l. 2. p. 565. Ὁ τοιαύτων ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι εἰπερ κείνῃ ὁ Μακεδόνιος, ὁ λαὸς ὡς ἀδῶν ἀντιλήψεται, νυκτὶς αὐτὸν μετὰ βίας ὅρα ὁ Χαλκηδὼνα ἐξέπεμψεν κηρύξιν παραπαραβῆναι ἐν Εὐχαρίτοις περὶ ταξέν. Τῇ δὲ ἑξῆς περὶ βαλῆσθαι εἰς Ἐπίσκοπον Τιμόθεον τινὰ, &c.

Evagrius says, That the Patriarch Macedonius (b) went away privately from the City of Constantinople by the persuasions of Celer the Captain of the Emperors Guards; By which he means that the Captain of the Guards being commanded by the Emperor to carry him away into Banishment, persuaded him to go away with him peaceably and privately for the avoiding of a Tumult. That the Patriarch did not resign, but was forced to go away, and lookt upon himself still as the Rightful Patriarch, is apparent from the exprefs Testimony of several Authors, and Evagrius himself in another place affirms, That he was (c) ejected. The Emperor, says (d) Theodorus Lector, supposing that Macedonius, if he should have been judg'd, would, as innocent, have been defended by the People, sent him away by force to Chalcedon by Night, and commanded him to be carried from thence to Euchaia; and the next

next day he made one Timotheus Patriarch in his stead. Anastasius the Emperor (says

(a) Victor Tunanensis) deposed Macedonius the Bishop of Constantinople by Violence, and sent him away into Banishment, because he refused to Condemn the Council of Chalcedon, and in his stead he made the Presbyter Timotheus Bishop.

(b) Theophanes, the Emperor commanded Celer to fetch Macedonius out of his Palace by force, who cried out, That he was ready to justify himself, not only before the Emperor, but even before all the People in the Theatre---- Thus he commanded him to be led away forcibly by Night, first to Chalcedon, and thence to Euchaita, not daring to bring him to a Trial

(c) for fear of the People, and the next day he made one Timotheus Bishop. To these may be added, (d) Marcellinus Comes, (e) Cyrillus Scythopolitanus, (f) Liberatus Diaconus, (g) Libellus Synodicus, (h) Zonaras, (i) Cedrenus, (k) Nicephorus Callisti. After Macedonius was Banish'd, and Timotheus Ordain'd Patriarch in his room, the Emperor to persuade the World that it was not

for nothing, but for very great Crimes, that he was Banish'd, order'd a mock Trial: Accordingly he was tried when absent, Accused, Judged, Condemn'd, by the very same Persons. His Mock-Condemnation, or Deprivation, being sent him, he rejected it as null and void in it self, because his Judges were Hereticks. Of this (1) Theophanes has given us a particular Account, I suppose out of the Ecclesiastical History of Theodorus Lector; for him he quotes by Name (m) a little after.

ad Provincie. Idem vero cum essent & iudices & testes & accusatores (so it ought to be render'd) ejectum jam ante iudicium & absentem muneris abrogatione damnant, & per Episcopos & Presbyterum Cyzicenum depositionis sententiam mittunt. Quos ubi conspexit Macedonius, etiam ante sermonis exordium interrogat, Num Chalcedonensem Synodum amittunt? Respondentibus illis, Tu quis es? Dixit ipse, Sabbatiani aut Macedoniani (Heretici) si mihi depositionis deferrent sententiam, me admittere oporteret? Et ita re infecta reversi sunt. Ipse vero Euchaitam reversus est. To the same purpose Nicephorus Call. l. 16. c. 26.

(m) P. 139.

That Timotheus, though the Deprivation of Macedonius was accounted by all the Orthodox Party to be absolutely Null, and though he was ordain'd Patriarch even before that Mock-Deprivation, was however acknowledged by all those of the Orthodox Party that accounted him Orthodox, is apparent from many Authorities. If he was rejected, it was only by those who believ'd him to be, what really he was, a Heretick. I observe in the first place, that amongst all the Authors who mention the Deprivation of Macedonius, there is

not

(a) Chron. Anastasius Imperator Macedonium Constantinopolitum Episcopum cum quibusdam Clericis nolentem Synodi Chalced. Decreta damnare, ab Ecclesiâ rapit, & in exilium mitti, atque pro eo Timotheum Presb. Episcopum facit.

(b) Chronogr. p. 133. 'Εκέλευσε δὲ Κίλλωρεθ ἡ Μάριεον καταγαγεῖν αὐτὸν τῷ ἐπισκοπείᾳ βιάσας, βοῶντι Μακεδονίῳ, ἐτοιμῶς ἀπολογείσθαι, ἔμῳρον ἐν τῷ Περίτωρῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ Θεάτρῳ. &c.

(c) Μὴδὲν ἔφη κατ' αὐτὸς ζητηθῆναι τομῆς τοῦ ἐπισκοπείᾳ τὰ πλῆθη τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς προβάλλεται 'Επίσκοπον Τιμόθεον τινα.

(d) Chron.

(e) V. S. Sabar, c. 50.

(f) Brev. c. 19.

(g) Syn. 110.

(h) Annal.

(i) Chron. p. 360:

(k) L. 16. c. 26.

(1) Chron. p. 133, 134. 'Αναστάσιος δὲ &c. Perpendens porro Anastasius Macedonium, in dictâ causâ, nullâve depositionis in eum latâ sententiâ in exilium ejectum, missi Magistro (Celere) deportari eum iussit (so it ought to be render'd, not diem ei dixit) ultra claudopolim Honorii-

(a) P. 133. Ἀναστάσιος ὁ πατριάρχης
 βασιλεὺς καὶ Τιμόθεος ὁ ἀνίσχυρος Ἐπί-
 σκοπος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως πολλὰ κα-
 καὰ τοῖς ὑπὲρ Μακεδονίου καὶ τῆς συνόδου
 (ἁγιοποιουμένοις) μοναχοῖς τὰ καὶ λαϊκοῖς
 καὶ κληρικοῖς ἐπεδείξαντο ὥστε καὶ εἰς
 Ὁσάνην τὴν ἐν βεβαίῳ ἐξέειπεν πολλὰς.
 Cedrenus has almost the same words.

(b) L. 16. c. 25. Ὁ δὲ διωγμὸς
 τοῦ κατὰ ἐκείνην φασγάνου πολὺς ἦν·
 τοῖς δὲ ἑσπερίαις, τοῖς δὲ φυγαῖς, τοῖς δὲ
 ἐπαγωγαῖς καὶ ἀνιμύσσει τὰ λαμπρομέ-
 νων, οἱ δὲ διαδεδούτες, καὶ εἰς ῥώμην
 ἐπίσταται.

(c) Ap. Acta Conc. sub Mennâ Act.
 v. p. 164. Secundum Capitulum in Li-
 bellis continebatur. ut qui propter causam
 diâ τῆς αἰτίας τῆς ἐξηγουμένων, &c. pre-
 dictorum Patrum (Euphemii dicimus ἑ
 Macedonii) relegati fuerunt ἑ fugati,
 reversi restituantur propriis gradibus.
 Quoniam igitur iusta petitio est, ut prima
 consequens, deliberavimus ut prædicti ad-
 juventur, &c. To the same purpose the
 Petitio Monachorum ad Synodum, ibid. p.
 172.

things had been demanded by the People in their publick Acclamations; and that the aforesaid Persons were banish'd and forced to flee away for their zealous defence of the Catholick Faith, the same People testify by their

(d) Τὰς ἐν ἑσπερίαις διὰ τῆς πίστεως,
 τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Ibid. p. 181.

Secondly, Theophanes says of the

(c) Ἰουλιὰν ἡ ἡγεμένη —
 ἀνίστατο σφόδρα καὶ ἐν Χαλκιδόνι
 συνόδῳ, ὡς καὶ τὴν βασιλῆα πολλὰς αὐ-
 τῇ διασεσθῆς ἐβουλόμην μὴ πείσαι
 κοινωνῆσαι Τιμόθεῳ, &c.

The reason, why she would not communicate with Timotheus, was, as may be gathered from these words of Theophanes, not because Macedonius was unjustly deposed, but because she accounted Timotheus an Enemy to the Council of Chalcedon.

Thirdly, 'Tis observ'd by the same Author, That though some Orthodox Bishops refused to communicate with Timotheus (because they thought him a Heretick) yet others, and those two not the most timorous, receiv'd him into Communion, though they absolutely refused to subscribe to Macedonius's
 Deprivation,

not so much as one that either says expressly, or gives any hint, that any one separated from Timotheus upon that account. They observe indeed, that many of the Followers of Macedonius were at the same time Persecuted, and Banish'd. So (a) Theophanes, Cedrenus, and (b) Nicephorus Callisti. But then at the same time they intimate, that it was for the same Reason that Macedonius himself was Banish'd; viz. Because they were great Sticklers for the Orthodox Faith; and because for the sake of the Orthodox Faith they still adher'd to him. In the

(c) Relatio, or Libellus Petitionis, which was presented to John the Successor of Timotheus by the Synod of Constantinople, after the Death of the Emperor Anastasius, concerning the Condemnation of the Heretick Severus, and the restoring of the Names of Euphemius and Macedonius to the Sacred Diptychs; It is likewise desired, that they that had been Banish'd, or forced to flee away upon the account of Euphemius and Macedonius, might be recall'd and restored to their respective Places. These Acclamations just after the aforesaid Petition was delivered: Their words there are (d) Let those that are in banishment for the Faith be recall'd and restored to the Church.

Illustrious and Religious Lady Juliana, That she was (c) so great a Defender of the Council of Chalcedon, that the Emperour could not possibly persuade her with all his Art to communicate with Timotheus, neither could Timotheus himself persuade her, though he often endeavour'd to do it.

Deprivation, and Condemn'd it as Unjust and Uncanonical. (a) *Timotheus*, says he, sent his *Synodical Epistles*, and a Copy of *Macedonius's Deprivation*, to the several *Bishops* to be subscrib'd. Those that were more stout refused to subscribe to either; they that were timorous subscribed through fear of the Emperor to both. Others kept the midway, and subscribed to the former, but refused to subscribe to the latter; which (in effect) was the same thing, though to them they seem'd to be different.

By these last Words is meant, That they that subscribed to *Timotheus's Synodical Epistle*, though they did not themselves believe him to be a *Heretick*, yet because he really was so, did by consequence, and by accident, as much advance the Cause of the *Hereticks*, as if they had likewise approv'd of *Macedonius's Deprivation*. Amongst those *Bishops* who accepted of *Timotheus's Synodical Epistle*, and by doing so receiv'd him into *Communion*, and own'd him as *Bishop of Constantinople*, two were the famous *Flavianus* and *Elias*, the *Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem*. This is in express Terms attested by *Cyrillus Scythopolitanus*, a very good Author in these Matters, as one of our Adversaries, the Learned *Vindicator* acknowledges; tho' (b)

another (who either does not know how to distinguish a good Author from a bad one, or at least for a Cause, can vilify any good Author) is pleas'd to affirm, That *Cyri's Legend* is too weak an Authority to persuade any Man that *Elias* (and *Flavianus*) accepted of *Timotheus's Synodical Epistle*. We will leave our Author to inform himself a little better of the Character of Writers, and will give you here the words of *Cyrillus*. The (c) Emperor (says he) having driven *Macedonius out of his See*, placed *Timotheus* in his room, and requir'd *Flavianus* and *Elias* to unite themselves to him in *Communion*. And they indeed assented to his *Synodical Letters*, but they would not do so to the *Acts of Macedonius's Deprivation*. Upon which account the Emperor was extremely enraged against them both, and a great storm hung over both Churches. *Baroccian Treatise*, That the great *Elias*, *Bishop of Jerusalem*, embraced the *Communion* of three *Patriarchs of Constantinople*, all alive together, viz. *Euphemius*, *Macedonius*, and *Timotheus*, being troubled indeed at the Ejection of him in Possession, but receiving the Successor also, because of his *Orthodox Faith*. That *Timotheus*, *Flavianus*, and *Elias*, were *Fellow-Communicants*, is intimated likewise by (d) *Liberatus Diaconus*.

(a) Τιμόθεος ὁ δὲ τὰ συνοδικὰ καὶ Μακεδονίου τὴν καθάρσιν τοῖς καὶ πόλιν ὁποῦσιν ἐπορεύεσθαι ἐπέμενεν· ὃν εἰ μὴ ἀνδριότεροι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνίστανται. οἱ δὲ παρόντες πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποφθεῖναι ὑπέγραψαν· οἱ δὲ μέντοι τὴν καθάρσιν Μακεδονίου καὶ ὑπέγραψαν. εἰ μὴ μόνον τοῖς συνοδικαῖς Τιμοθέου· ὅπερ τ' αὐτὸν ἦν, εἴπερ διαφέρειν αὐτοῖς ἴσκει.

(b) A farther Account of the *Baroccian MS.*

(c) Vitâ S. Sabæ, c. 30. Μακεδόνιον τὸ ἐπισκοπὴν ἔχελαιος, καὶ Τιμόθεον εἰς ταύτην παραγαγόν, Φαβιανὸν καὶ Ηλίαν ἀπῆται συνδέειν διτινὲς τοῖς καὶ Τιμοθέου συνήνεσαν συνοδικαῖς· ἡ μὲν δὲ καὶ τοῖς καθαρτικαῖς Μακεδονίου τότε σφοδρῶς καὶ ἡ ἀποφθεῖναι κινηθῶν τὰ βασιλείας, καὶ ὅσον μέγας ἦ ἀποφθεῖναι ἐπέκειτο ἐκκλησίας.

(d) Brev. c. 18. Post quem ordinatus est Alexandria Joannes Machiota (Nicota aut Nicaota) qui etiam ipse suos priores (Eutychnianos) secutus est, suscipiens quidem unitivum Zenonis Edictum, non autem Chalcedonenſe Concilium & Epistolam Papæ Leonis, tanquam non communicaret Flaviano Antiocheno, & Elia Hierosolymorum Episcopis, & Timotheo Constantinopolitano. Dicebat enim imperſe Edictum se habere, nec ad unitatem ſufficere, quod non in Anathemate Synodi fuiſſet factum. Deinde cum ei Imp. Anaſtaſius ſcripiſſet, ut uniretur Conſtantinopolitano Episcopō: Hac reſcripſit, quia (i. e. quod) non ſufficeret ei ad perfectam unitatem, eo quod non anathematizaret Synodum.

This acknowledged by the Learned *Vindicator* ; who, because their Opinion and Practice was so directly contrary to his, is resolv'd to be revenged on 'em. They were Men, says he, of no Principles, turn'd frequently Apostates to the Eutychian Hereticks, very frequently and easily varied from the Principles which they themselves profess'd and own'd for Principles. We see, says he, that they corresponded with so Notorious a Heretick as Timotheus, (which is more than ever our Authors own Principles would have allow'd 'em) rather than hazard their Places. Why should we then wonder if they had corresponded with Schismatics, even such as themselves took for such? Much more of the same Nature he very unworthily throws at 'em. To all which I Answer,

1. That when they Subscribed to the Synodical Letters of Timotheus, at the same time they absolutely refused to Subscribe to the Deprivation of Macedonius, because they thought it Unlawful ; and though, as *Cyrillus* tells us, the Emperor was extremely enraged against 'em, because they refused to Subscribe to the latter, and immediately resolv'd to Depose 'em, yet they never could be prevail'd with to do it. They still continued to Communicate with Timotheus, but to their dying day did never Subscribe to the Deprivation of Macedonius. From hence it is manifest, that they receiv'd Timotheus into Communion, not because they dar'd not hazard their Places, but because they thought they might Lawfully do it.

2. It is utterly untrue that they knew Timotheus to be a Heretick. Had our Author judged Candidly as he ought to have done, he would easily have judg'd of himself, that the Synodical Letters, which Timotheus sent to Flavianus and Elias, contained in 'em nothing Heretical, since such Men as they receiv'd 'em. And had he look'd nicely into the Histories and Concerns of those Times, he would have found, that Timotheus did not presently appear to be a Heretick. They that knew him very well, or were nicely inform'd concerning him, did believe that he was so, and accordingly withdrew from his Communion : But certain it is, that to the Catholics who did not well know him he pretended to be one of their Party. It is cer-

(a) Τιμωθεος δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς (Præfectum Monasterii Studitarum) ἐφ' ὧσι
Ἀνάθεμα παντὶ ἀνδρὶ ἀποσεφο-
μένῳ ἢ Ἀναθεματίζοντι ᾧ ἐν Χαλ-
κηδὼνι σύνοδον. Theodorus Lector l. 2.
p. 563.

tain that after he was made Patriarch, he (a) denounced an Anathema against all those that were either averse to, or Anathematiz'd the Council of Chalcedon. This an antient and an authentick Historian expressly affirms. So far indeed was he from denouncing an Anathema against the Council of Chalcedon in his Synodical Letters, that (b) Liberatus Diaconus expressly asserts, that up-

on that very account, because he did not, the Eutychian Patriarch of Alexandria refus'd to Communicate with him. The same Author plainly intimates, That Timotheus (as well as Flavianus and Elias) Subscribed in his Synodical Letters to the Council of Chalcedon, and the Epistle of Pope Leo. Joannes Nicaotes, (says he) the Patriarch of Alexandria pursu'd the steps of his (Eutychian) Predecessors, receiving indeed the uniting Edict of Zeno, Non autem Chalcedonense Concilium & Epistolam Papæ Leonis, tanquam non communicaret Flaviano Antiocheno, & Eliæ Hierosolymorum Episcopo, & Timotheo Constantinopolitano. Another Authority is that of the Historian Evagrius, who (c) affirms, That the Synodical Epistles

(c) Λ. 4. c. 4. Ὃς διεπέμψατο τοῖς
ἐκαστῶν πατριαρχαῖς, ἐδεδίθησαν
δὲ μόνον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρειας πόλεως.

files

files of *Severus*, who succeeded *Flavianus* in the See of *Antioch*, about a year or two after *Timotheus* was made Patriarch of *Constantinople*, were (because they Anathematiz'd the Council of *Chalcedon*) receiv'd by none of the then Patriarchs, besides the Patriarchs of *Alexandria*. Therefore, according to the Testimony of *Evagrius*, the Synodical Epistles of the *Eutychian Severus*, were rejected by *Timotheus*. If *Evagrius* was mistaken, at least from what he says it is manifest, That *Timotheus* was believ'd by many to be Orthodox. To these I add the express Testimony of *Nicephorus Callisti*. (d) *Elias*, says he, and *Flavianus* receiv'd *Timotheus* into Communion, as seeming to be Orthodox. But the Banishment of *Macedonius* they did not approve off as being by Violence, and against the Laws of the Church.

3. Though the Patriarch *Flavianus* was by the Persecutions of his Enemies so far prevail'd upon, as to subscribe to the Condemnation of *Theodoret*, *Ibas*, &c. yet 'tis certain from the (d) Epistle of the Monks of *Palæstine* to *Alcifo*, that he Condemn'd 'em upon Supposition that they were *Nestorians*. And though by repeated Persecutions he was further prevail'd upon to Subscribe against the Council of *Chalcedon*; yet from the same Authentick Monument it is manifest, that he subscribed against the Doctrine of it only upon this Supposition, That it was (as his Potent Enemies contended) *Nestorian*: For it's plain, that at the very same time he own'd that Council as to its Condemning *Eutyches*. 'Twas this Subscription of his that occasion'd all those Reports which we find in some Authors, particularly in *Theophanes* the *Chronographer*, concerning his Anathematizing the Council of *Chalcedon*. That all those Reports are very great Mistakes, and that he never could be prevail'd upon (though his Persecutions were intolerable, though by all manner of Afflictions his Enemies endeavour'd to force him) to Anathematize that Council, or to Subscribe to the *Eutychian Herefie*, and that at last, because he could not be prevail'd upon, he lost his Bishoprick, is very apparent from the afore said (e) Epistle. They many ways afflicted him, as (f) *Cyrillus* *Scythopolitanus* says, and as it were Strangled him to make him comply; yet even at this time he Communicated still with *Timotheus*. How great an Honour the Orthodox had for him may be gather'd from the publick (g) Acclamations of the Orthodox Party of *Tyre*, just after the

(d) L. 16. c. 32. Οἱ δὲ (Ἡλίας καὶ Φλαβιανὸς) Τιμοθέῳ μὲν κρινόμενῳ εὐλογοῦν τὸν ὁρθόδοξον λόγον συμβαλεῖν δοκῶντι τὴν γὰρ μὴν Μακεδονίῃς ὑπεεργλάν ἡμεῖς ἔχον φέρειν, δύνασθαι μάλλον καὶ κατὰ θεοῦς δικαιοσύνας γαγγυμένον.

(d) Ap. Evag. l. 3. c. 31.

(e) Loc. Cit. See likewise c. 32.

(f) V. Sabar, p. 208. Πολυτελείας δολίαντες ἡ Φλαβιανόν, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἀποπνίξαντες καὶ κατὰ ἀναγκάσαις ἡ ἐν Χαλκηδὼν συνοδὸν ἀναθεματίζουσι, ὥτως αὐτὸν ἡ ἐπισκοπὴς ἐξεδάσαντες, ὑπεεργλάν κατέδικασαν. By κατὰ ἀναγκάσαις, he does not mean, that they effectually compell'd

him to Anathematize the Council, but only that they endeavour'd it. So the word ἀναγκάζω is us'd a little after, P. 310. So likewise by *Theophanes*, *Chron.* p. 130. twice. And so these words of *Cyrillus* were understood by the ancient Latin Translator of the Second Council of *Nice*, Aft. 1. where they are quoted. He renders it thus, Cogentes obstrictosque hic trahentes, ut Acta Concilii Chalced. Anathemate prosequeretur: quo nolente, Episcopatu suo privatus in exilium quoque damnatus est.

(g) Subjoin'd to the Epistle of the Synod of *Tyre* to the Synod of *Constantinople*, extant in the Acts of the Council sub *Mennâ*, Aft. 5. p. 205. Φλαβιανὸν πατριάρχην τοῖς διπτύχοις. — τὸ λαβάνον Φλαβιανὸν πύμνον φέρε· εἰς τὸ ἄγιον Νῆστιαν ἀγαγόμεν.

Death of the Emperor Anastasius. They demand that his Name, which had been struck out by the Hereticks, should be again restor'd to the Diptychs of the Church, and are very zealous to have his Body brought to their City, that there it might be disposed of after the most honourable manner.

And that this might be done is the Request of the Synod of Tyra to the Synod of Constantinople. (a) It is just (say they) that his venerable Name should be inserted in the Sacred Diptychs, who suffer'd so much for Christ our God, and for the true Faith, &c. In a word, so great an Honour has the Church had all along for him, that to this very day he is Worship'd as a (b) Confessor and a Saint. By Marcellinus Comes (c), who was living at that time, he is call'd expressly a Confessor. By (d) Nicephorus Callisti he is styl'd a very great Man.

(a) Ibid. p. 202. Τῇ ὁμοίᾳ, &c. Similem deprecationem super his offerimus, ut — accipimus honorificè Corpus Spirituales Patris nostri Flavianii Patr. Antiocheni, & inseratur catalogo Sanctorum Patrum qui in Apostolicà sede ante defuncti sunt; & inseratur nomen ipsius venerabile sacris tabulis. Iustum enim est eum, qui pro Christo Deo nostro, & ejus relligione fatigatus est, & qui sustinuit arduam sententiam eorum, qui eum calumniabantur (ὅτι ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ τῷ Θεῷ ἠμῶν, καὶ τῇ αὐτῶν ὁρθῆς ὁμολογίας περὶ μνησθέντα, &c.) in Communionem veniret eorum, &c.

(b) Flavianii Secundi Episcopi Antiocheni, & Elias Episcopi Hierosolymorum, qui pro Synodo Chalced. ab Anastasio Imp. in exilium acti, victores migrarunt ad Dominum. Marcell. eolog. Rom. Julii 4. In Moschus's Pratum Spirituale, c. 26. 'tis said (though untruly, yet it shews how great an Opinion that Age had of him) That God reveal'd to him, as well as to Elias, the time of his own, and likewise of the Emperors Death.

(c) Chron. ad Consul. Pauli & Musciani.

(d) L. 16. c. 27. Οἱ τοῦτοι ἄνδρες, Μακρίδινος καὶ Φλαβιανός.

4. As for the Patriarch Elias, he likewise is honoured by the Church as a Saint and a Confessor, though till he was Deposed from his See he still continu'd to Communicate with Timotheus. As Flavianus was Deposed for his Constancy at Antioch, so was Elias a little after at Jerusalem. He is call'd by (e) Cyrillus of Scythopolis, Elias who was truly a High Priest of God: By the Author of the (f) Synodicon, Elias the Preacher of God: By the Author of the Barocian Treatise, The Great, the Blessed Elias: By Nicephorus Callisti (g), The most Celebrated Elias. And so Holy a Man was he esteem'd, That (h) Cyrillus says, That after his Ejection, the time

(e) Vita S. Sabæ, c. 34. Ὁ ἅγιος Ἰσίδωρος τῷ Θεῷ ἱεροδότης ἦλθας.

(f) Syn. III. Ἡλία τῷ Θεοκλήρῳ.

(g) Ἡλίας ὁ πολυώνυμος.

(h) Loc. Cit. c. 60.

of his own, and likewise the Emperor Anastasius's Death, was Reveal'd by God to him. Neither was he a young Man at that time when he was Deposed, and when he Communicated with Timotheus, but a Man of a very great Age,

(i) Cyrillus tells us, c. 60. that he was Eighty eight years old when he Died, and that he Died Ten days after the Emperor Anastasius, i. e. Anno 518.

of no less than (i) Eighty One years, when first he began to Communicate with him, and of Consequence tully instructed in the Doctrine and Practice of the Catholick Church.

What we Read in (a) *Theodorus Lector* concerning *Elias*, that being Commanded by the Emperor to call a Synod, and Condemn the Council of *Chalcedon*, he did not indeed call a Synod, but however he himself wrote a Letter to the Emperor, in which he Anathematiz'd Nestorius and Eutyches, Diodorus and Theodorus, and the Council of Chalcedon. This I say is a Notorious Error. It is very well observ'd by *Baronius*, That *Theodorus* was led into this Mistake by a Spurious Letter which the Hereticks had feign'd in *Elias's* Name. Let us hear the Monks of Palæstine in their Epistle to Alcifo, whilst *Elias* himself was yet living. The

(b) Hereticks, say they, require the Bishop of Jerusalem to give 'em an account of his Faith in Writing. He accordingly sends an account of it to the Emperor by some that were Hereticks. Now that Account which they produce, contains an Anathema against those who assert two Natures, (i. e. against the Council of Chalcedon, &c.) but the Bishop alleges that that is spurious and feign'd by them, and produces a Copy of that which he sent, which has no such Anathema in it.

This indeed is no wonder: For so the Hereticks have often Corrupted the Writings of the Fathers, and have falsely ascribed the Books of Apollinaris to Athanasius, Gregorius Thaumaturgus, and (Pope) Julius; by which they have drawn over many to their Errors. So great a Man was *Elias*, that to bring over others of the Orthodox to their Party, the Hereticks Forge an Heretical Belief in his Name. It is true, that when the Emperor *Anastasius* had Commanded a Synod to be called at *Sidon*, over which those violent Hereticks, *Soterichus* and *Xenaius*, (or *Philoxenus*) were to preside, in order to Condemn the Orthodox Faith; *Elias*, together with *Flavianus*, that they might hinder the sitting of that Synod, or break it up without any effect, sent the Emperor a soothing and a complaisant Letter, by which the Emperor was persuaded to dismiss the Synod without doing what had been intended. (c) *Theophanes* says, That in that Letter *Elias* rejected the Council of Chalcedon; but it appears from the Words of the Letter produced by *Cyillus* Scythop. that he did not reject the Doctrine of the Council, but only said, (d) That he did not approve of the Council of Chalcedon, because upon the account of that Council there had been great Scandals rais'd in the Church. These Words deceiv'd the Emperor, and he broke out afterwards into a mighty Passion, when he saw that *Elias* was truly Orthodox, and intended nothing less than the Condemning the Ortho-

(a) *L. 2. p. 361. Theophanes*, who writ out of *Theodorus*, says the quite contrary to *Theodorus*, p. 130. That *Elias* then acknowledged the Council of Chalcedon: But I think with *Valesius*, That *Theophanes* ought to be Corrected from *Theodorus*, though *Goar* thinks the contrary, that *Theophanes's* is the true Reading, and that *Theodorus* ought to be Corrected out of him.

(b) Ap. Evag. l. 3. c. 31. Ἐν τέτοις καὶ ἱεροσολύμων ἀπὸ τῶν ἑσχατοῦ περὶ πίστεως ὅς ἐκρίμενος ἀπέστειλε πρὸ βασιλέως, δι' αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν Διοσκόρου ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν περὶ ἑρесь ἀναθεματισμῶν πεισέχον τῷ ὁμοούσιον ἐκκλησίαν αὐτῶν δὲ ὁ ἱεροσολύμων νενόθευται παρ' αὐτῶν διαβεβαιούμενος, ἄλλο περὶ ἑρесь δι' ἧς τινὲς ἀναθεματισμῶ καὶ ὁ δαύμα, &c.

(c) P. 131. Τὴν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι ἡγεσθῆναι ὑποβάλλουσα.

(d) V. Sabæ, c. 52. Πάντων αἱρεσιν καὶ ὑποπρεπῆς τι καὶ ἐκδοξέως πίστεως ἐπισημαίνουσαν ὑποβάλλουσαν, ἡ περὶ τῶν καὶ τὰ ἐν Χαλκηδόνι πεπεγμένα διὰ τὰ γινόμενα δι' αὐτὴν σκάνδαλα.

(a) Ibid. Ὁ ὑμέτερος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ὑπέρμαχον αὐτὸν κατέστω ἢ τὰ Νεστορικὰ δόγματα κυρωσάτης ἐν Χαλκηδὼν συνόδῳ. &c.

Party Flavianus of Antioch (of whom hopes, but Elias had now for him beyond all their hopes) ---- I am not ignorant that he is at this time, and so was before, when he refused to subscribe to the Deprivation of Euphemius and Macedonius, a Defender of the Council of Chalcedon. I therefore

(b) Πανεσφρείδω ἡ ὑμέτερα γαλήνητος ἐπίτερ ὃ ἡ ὑμέτερος ἀγίας τῆ Θεῆς πόλεως Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ὑπὸ τῶ ἀρχαίου πατρὸς καὶ σημειοφόρου τῶν ἁγίων ἡμῶν ἐξήμω τῶ ἡ εὐσεβείας δόγμασι παιδευθεῖς, &c. Elias had been a Monk before he was made Patriarch.

he keeps the midway, and inclines to neither the right Hand nor to the left. We know that he embraces the Holy Doctrines of S. Cyril, Archbishop of Alexandria, and that he Anathematizes all those that are averse to them. And therefore we beseech your Majesty, that the Holy City of Jerusalem, and our Archbishop, may remain unmolessted. I could add much more to shew how untruly and unaccurately the Vindicator discourses concerning the unsteadiness of the Patriarchs Elias and Flavianus. But I hasten to other Examples. Only this I shall add, That as Elias continu'd to his Death an undaunted Champion for the Faith, so great and so singular was his Courage,

(c) L. 3. c. 34. Nicephorus Call. l. 16. c. 35. Eutychius Patr. Alex. in Anal. Arab. Tom. 2. p. 140. Cum ergo audisset Elia Patr. Hierosol. Flavianum in exilium pulsatum esse, ac Severum in locum ipsius successum, convocavit coram Sepulchro & Golgotha Monachos qui in Anastasium Imp. & Severum Patr. & quotquot ipsius sententiam amplecterentur, Anathema denunciarunt.

But it was not only Elias and Flavianus those two great Patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch, that Communicated with Timotheus, and acknowledged him as Bishop of Constantinople. For,

Fourthly, We are assured by Theodorus Lector, that the great Abbot of the Monastery of Studium at Constantinople, refused to be Consecrated by Timotheus, whilst he thought him a Heretick; but, as soon as Timotheus had given him an Assurance that he was not so, without the least scruple concerning the unjust Deprivation of his Predecessor Macedonius, he readily yielded to be Consecrated by him. The Abbot (says Theodorus)

dox Faith. (a) Your Archbishop (says the Emperor to S. Sabas, whom Elias had sent to Constantinople,) has made himself the Champion of the Council of Chalcedon; and not only so, but has likewise drawn over to his before the Heretical Party had some now, as thou seest, Decree, That he be Deposed. Let your Majesty, (b) answer'd the great S. Sabas, be fully persuaded, That the Archbishop of our Holy City of God, who has been instructed in all Godly Doctrines by the ancient Luminaries of our Desert, those Fathers the Workers of Miracles, does reject, as well the Nestorian Division, as the Eutychian Confusion of the two Natures of our Saviour, that

We know that the right Hand nor to the left. We know that he embraces the Holy Doctrines of S. Cyril, Archbishop of Alexandria, and that he Anathematizes all those that are averse to them. And therefore we beseech your Majesty, that the Holy City of Jerusalem, and our Archbishop, may remain unmolessted. I could add much more to shew how untruly and unaccurately the Vindicator discourses concerning the unsteadiness of the Patriarchs Elias and Flavianus. But I hasten to other Examples. Only this I shall add, That as Elias continu'd to his Death an undaunted Champion for the Faith, so great and so singular was his Courage, as that, together with the Monks of Palestine, he denounced an Anathema upon even the Emperor himself, then alive. (c) Evagrius speaks of it as of an Example of extraordinary stoutness. There were some, says he, of the Orthodox that struck the Emperor Anastasius's Name, as being a Heretick out of the Diptychs. But at Jerusalem, even whilst he was alive, he was Anathematiz'd.

of (a) the Monastery of Studium being Dead, Timotheus the Patriarch went to the Monastery to Consecrate a new Abbot: But he who was to be Consecrated told him, That he could not receive the Blessing from one that had Condemn'd the Council of Chalcedon. Timotheus hereupon denounced an Anathema against all those that were either averse to, or Condemn'd that Council. Then he that was to be Consecrated receiv'd the Benediction from his Hands. This is to be supposed to be the Abt not only of the Abbot himself, though that alone would be very considerable, but likewise of the whole Monastery. The same thing we find related by (b) Theophanes, and (c) Nicephorus Callisti: And they all speak of it as a thing they very well approved of.

Fifthly, It appears from Theophanes, that the Orthodox Party of Constantinople Communicated generally with him. Timotheus (says (d) he) being willing to insert the Name of Severus in the Diptychs, and to strike out that of Flavianus, was hinder'd by the People. For all the Orthodox declin'd the Communion of Severus. A plain Intimation. The same is attested by (e) Marcellinus Comes, who speaks of the Orthodox, their being at Church at that time when the Words, *Who wast Crucified for us*, were by the Command of the Emperor added to the Trisagium. Which, as he says, was the next year after the Promotion of Timotheus. I know that (f) Evagrius and Theophanes thought that those Words were added in the time of the Patriarch Macedonius; but Cedrenus and others agree with Marcellinus. I might add, That if Marcellinus was mistaken in placing it a year too low, yet his placing it in the time of Timotheus, is however an Argument for what we Assert; for he could not have been guilty of such a mistake, if he had * known that the Orthodox did not Communicate with Timotheus.

Sixthly, It appears from the Epistle of the Palæstine Monks to Alcifo, that in Palæstine, not only the Patriarch Elias, but all in general, allow'd of Timotheus's Communion: though at the same time they rejected the Communion of Severus, who was put into the place of Flavianus, as being a manifest Heretic.

(a) Th

(a) P. 563. Τὸ ἡγούμενον τῆς μονῆς τῆς Στεδίου τελευτήσας, ἀπῆλθε Τιμόθεος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον προσβαλεῖσθαι ἑπισκοπῶν (lege ἡγούμενον) ὁ δὲ μέλλων χειροτονεῖσθαι, ὡς περ αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἐκ ἀνῃρέων διεξάδας χειροτονίαν ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς ἢ ἐν Χαλκηδόνι ἀναθεματίζοντι συνόδον Τιμόθεος δὲ ἔρρησε πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀνάδεμα παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ, ἀποστρεφόμενος ἢ ἀναθεματίζοντι ἢ ἐν Χαλκηδόνι συνόδον ἑταῖς ἐν ὁ μέλλων χειροτονεῖσθαι, κατεδέξαστο.

(b) Chron. p. 135.

(c) L. 15. c. 35.

(d) P. 135. Τιμόθεος δὲ τὸ ὄνομα Σεβήρι βοληθεὶς ἐντάξαι τοῖς διptyχοῖς κατὰ Φλαβιανὸν ἐκλεῖσθαι, ὑπὸ τῶ λαοῦ ἐκαλούμεν Σεβήριος ὃς ἢ κινωνίας παύσις οἱ ἱερεῖς διδοῦσαι ἔρρηκεν.

(e) Die Dominico dum jubente Anastasio Cesare, per Marinum perque Platonem in Ecclesiæ pulpito consistentes, in Hymnum Trinitatis deipassianorum quaternitas additur, multi Orthodoxorum pristina voce Psallentes perfidosque præcones clamoribus objurgantes, in ejusdem Ecclesiæ gremio cæsi sunt, ductique in carcere perierunt: Altera nihilominus die in atrio Sancti Theodori majori eade Catholici pro fide unici perculsi sunt. Ad Coss. Paulum & Muscianum.

(f) L. 3. c. ult. He quotes the Epistle of Severus for what he says, but perhaps Severus only meant, That Macedonius, while in Banishment, excited the People so far as to make 'em raise a Sedition upon that account.

* He lived at that time. and wrote his Chronicle within 23 years after.

(a) Ἀρ. Εὐαγ. ι. 3. c. 33. Τὰ μὲν συνοδικὰ Τιμοθέου τῷ νῦν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐδέχθη ἐνταῦθα ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ· ἡ δὲ καθάρισις Μακεδονίου, καὶ Φλαβιανῆς, οὐκ ἐδέχθη· ἀλλ' ἐδὲ τὰ συνοδικὰ Σαβῆρου.

* V. Sabr.

(b) In the Desert, within a few hours of Jerusalem, besides many others who inhabited on the River Jordan.

in their Name it was that the *Epistle* above cited was written by the Abbots and Governors of the Monasteries. How great and extraordinary Persons S. Sabas and S. Theodosius were, who were two of the Chief of the Governors of the Monks at that time, we shall shew in the following Chapter. Concerning the State of Palestine in general, how generally Orthodox it was at that

(c) Τὰ δὲ ἐνταῦθα μοναστήρια, καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἱεροσόλυμα ὁμοῦ ὡς αὐτὸν Θεὸν περὶ τὸ ὁρθὸν κρίνουν, καὶ ἄλλαι δὲ πόλεις μετὰ τῶν ἑπισκόπων, &c.

Honour'd Sir, to Pray, that we enter not into Temptation.

Least any one should suspect, that therefore they, of whom we have hitherto Spoken, Communicated with Timotheus as true Bishop of Constantinople, because Macedonius was Deceas'd; I shall here add, That it appears from Theophanes and Cedrenus, That Macedonius died on the 25th year of the Emperor Anastasius, i. e. A. D. 515. four years after he was Deposed. And from Marcellinus Comes it likewise appears, that he was alive in the Consulship of Senator, (or Cassiodorus) i. e. in the year 514. It is manifest therefore that his Successor, Timotheus, was acknowledged by all those above spoken of, whilst he himself was still Living.

C H A P. VII.

Flavianus Patriarch of Antioch being Deposed by the Emperor Anastasius, his Successor Severus is rejected by the Orthodox only because he was a Heretick. Elias Patriarch of Jerusalem being violently deposed by the said Emperor, his Successor John is immediately acknowledged by all the People, though at the same time they hated him: by the whole Church of Palæstine; particularly the two great Abbots, S. Sabas and S. Theodosius, so Famous for their Undauntedness and Sanctity: by Johannes Cappadox Patriarch of Constantinople, and all the Greek Church: by all the whole Church ever since those Times. The Testimony of Photius Patriarch of Constantinople out of a Manuscript. The old Patriarch Elias, though so Tyrannically Deprived for adhering to the Orthodox Faith, continues however to Communicate with those who acknowledged his Successor.

1. **A**FTER what manner *Flavianus* Patriarch of *Antioch*, of whom we have spoken so largely in the foregoing Chapter, was Deposed, *Theophanes* has given us a particular Relation. (a) He tells us (I suppose from *Theodorus Lector*) that there were sent to *Antioch* by the Emperor *Anastasius* to Depose him, certain *ἀρχόντες*, i. e. Great Men or Magistrates, who persuaded him to retire for some time from the City of *Antioch*, pretending this Reason, That thereby the Tumults which had been rais'd on his account might be appeas'd. He according to their Advice retires, and immediately they create the Heretick *Severus* Patriarch. Though such were the Deprivation of *Flavianus*, yet the only Reason assign'd by the Orthodox why they would not Communicate with *Severus*, was his being a Notorious Heretick. Concerning the Unlawfulness of Communicating with him, because put into the place of another so unjustly and tyrannically Deprived, not a word (that I know of) in any Author. This happened in the year 515.

2. In a short time after, viz. in the year (b) 515. *Elias* Patriarch of *Jerusalem* was violently Deposed by the said Emperor *Anastasius*, for refusing to Communicate with the Heretick *Severus*, who was Constituted Patriarch of *Antioch* in the room of *Flavianus*. Though *Elias* had been thus *Uncanonically* Deposed, yet his Successor *John*, because he was Orthodox, was readily acknowledged by all. This is

another of the Instances produced by the Author of the *Baroccian Treatise*, who affirms (what was easie to be known) that the Names both of *John* and

M

Elias

(a) Συνεβη δὲ οἱ πεμπομένοις ἀρχόντες πρὸς τὸ βασιλεὺς τὸ ἐξεῶσαι αὐτὸν καὶ ὀλίγον ὑποχωρῆσαι διὰ τὰς ἀρχόντων τούτων εἰς Πλάδανος ἐξελεῖν τὸ εὐθέως καὶ συστῆναι Συνεστῆναι ἐχειροτονῶν, &c. p. 134.

(b) His Successor *John* govern'd 7 years, and 9 months, and died three years before the Emp. *Justin*, as appears from *Cyrillus Scythop.* V. *Sabas*, c. 68. For τὸ ἐν δυνάμει ὑδνυτῶνος, p. 310. read, καὶ ἐν δυνάμει Ἰουστίνου. 'Tis their said that *Elias* was Deposed in the beginning of the Indict. It was therefore in *Septemb. A. 515.*

Elias were written in the Sacred Diptychs of the Church of Jerusalem. The said Emperor Anastasius (says our Author) Deposed and Banish'd the said Blessed Elias from the See of Jerusalem, because he would not come over to his Heretical Opinion, and Constituted John in his place; whom, because he publicly Preach'd the Orthodox Faith contrary to the Emperor's Expectation, Elias in no wise reject'd, but continued in Communion with him. And Theodosius and Sabas, those Reverend Fathers, the Heads and Chief of all the Monks of the Holy City, visiting Elias in his Exile, both loved him and Communicated with him, as an injur'd Patriarch, and yet they Communicated with John too, (that sat then in the Throne of Jerusalem) as their Patriarch. And therefore the Names both of John and Elias were written in the Sacred Diptychs of Jerusalem, in these Words: May the Memory of Elias and John be Everlasting. These Things (i. e. all save what is said of the Diptychs) are written in the Life of the Holy and great Sabas. 'Twill be worth ones while to Read what is said in Answer to this by my extremely learned and most elegant Friend, the Writer of the

(a) *Epistola ad Humfredum Hody, Sec.*

(a) Latin Epistle. Proximo loco (says he)

à Vita sancti magnique Sabæ mira profert

Autor tuus, sc. Anastasium è Sede Constantinopolitana primo Euphemium, deinde Macedonium (quibus successit Timotheus) deiecit, & Eliam Hierosolymorum Episcopum cum his omnibus communicasse, ipsumque Eliam etiam fuisse condemnatum & in exilium actum, cui successit Johannes, quorum nomina in Diptychis: sed hæc quoad nos gratis dicta sunt; nam ubi latet illius Sancti Sabæ Vita, tu nobis ostende; interim tale aliquid nunc in rerum Naturâ inveniri potest, dubitari liceat: nec bene quadrat, quæ narrat Autor; nam Euphemius & Macedonius, & ipse tandem Elias in longinquas & distantes Regiones in exilium missi sunt, Timotheus & Johannes qui sedes occuparunt, non admodum fuere vicini; & tamen hi cunctis quàm amicissimè inter se communicant: ex verbis Autoris putares eos se mutuo visitasse, aut ut plurimum convivisse: fateor quidem posse illos in locis maxime remotis distos inter se communicare; sed si ad hoc probandum non obscuram Sabæ vitam, sed communicatorias eorum literas protulisset, aliquid ad rem dixisset. A strange heap of Simplicity and Ignorance! He was not only ignorant before, that there's such a Life extant as that of S. Sabas, but even after I had taken care to direct the Reader where he may find it, he continues still ignorant of it, and Challenges me to produce it. What he adds of the Communicatory Letters, that our Author ought to have produced them themselves, recalls to my Remembrance what he elsewhere objects against the Authority of the Treatise it self. He tells me, that the Treatise, which I publish'd, cannot carry with it any Authority because it was not published from the Author's own Copy. Librum illum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana Chartaceum esse dicis, sed satis antiquum; sed cum, quam sit antiquus, non audes dicere, & Chartaceum fateris, inde suspicari licet Originalem illum non esse, sed aliunde transcriptum: & si sic se res habet, omnis ejus Autoritas ex alio Libro, quem non habemus, dependet: eas igitur, si placet, & alia Scrinia scruteris, Barceccianum parum aut nihil cause prodest. Thus much for the Readers Diversion.

Let us see what the Learned Vindicator has to say to this Example of the Church of Jerusalem. He tells us, That Elias by his own Cession, might ratifie that Ordination of John, which otherwise had been invalid and unobliging: And this Cession (says he) might be known by his not Challenging his Right, and by his not taking it ill at their Hands, who own'd his Rival for their Patriarch, and by the Friendly Behaviour of his Rival to him in continuing his Name in the Ecclesiastical Diptychs, if it was not afterwards restored, but then continued as our Author supposes: Otherwise this Form in the Jerusalem Diptychs, mention'd by our Author, of wishing the memory of Elias and John perpetual; like that of the Tomus

Unio-

Unionis in Constantinople, seems rather as if it were brought in after their Deaths, to accommodate some Differences that might have been formerly between Parties, that had been made on their Accounts. You see that the Vindicator (so learned a Man as he is) has nothing of *Autority* to fly to, he is forced to that poor weak Refuge of *Conjecture* and *Guess*. As for that which he says concerning the accommodating of Differences, I deny there was ever any Difference: So readily, so unanimously did all the whole Church of Jerusalem submit to the new Patriarch John, that there is not any hint in Antiquity concerning any Dissention on his Account. 'Tis al-
(a) A farther Account of the Ba-
roccian Manuscript.

leged indeed by another of our (a) An-
swerers, That the People of Jerusalem reject-
ed John, because he had been the Supplanter and Betrayer of Elias: But it is not true, that John was upon that account rejected by the People of Jerusalem. Cyrilus Scythopoli-
tanus, (the Author which our Answerer alleges) says only, That when John was cast into Prison for refusing to Anathematize the Council of Chalcedon, the People rejoic'd at it, because he had been an Actor against Elias. So far is he from saying, that they rejected him, that from him it plainly appears that they all very freely acknowledged him. And this to me is a very considerable Argu-
ment for the Doctrine which we maintain, That though the People had still a great Love for Elias, and hated John, be-
cause he had been one of the Expellers of Elias; yet they (b) freely Commu-
nicated with John as their Bishop, because he was Orthodox. Had they lov'd John and hated Elias, their Acquiescence un-
der the present Possessor might perhaps have proceeded from their Passions; but when the Case was quite contrary, what else could oblige 'em to submit to the present Possessor, but the Love of Peace, and Conscience? As for that which the Vindicator Conjectures concerning their presuming that Elias might have sur-
render'd up his Right to John; Who could ever imagine that Elias did so, since John was one of his Expellers? But concerning all this matter I desire the Reader should pass his Judgment from that very particular and Authentick Account which Cyrilus Scythopolitanus has given us in the Life of S. Sabas. I shall here Translate the whole Account, and from thence it will plainly appear, That the Church of Jerusalem had no regard at all to the Will and Good liking of Elias, but that what they did they did as a thing of Course, and on all Hands own'd to be Lawful, whether he consented or not.

(c) 'Elias (says Cyrilus) refusing to receive the Heretick Severus into Communion, the Emperor was extremely enraged at it, and he sent one Olympius of Casarea, the Governor of Palestine, with express Commands to Depose him whatsoever opposition he might meet with. He comes to Jerusalem with the Emperor's Forces, and by making use of many Arts and Contrivances, he expells Elias from his Bishoprick, and Banishes him to Aila, and makes John the Son of Marcianus, who had promis'd to receive Severus into his Communion, and to Anathematize the Council of Chalcedon, Bishop of Jerusalem in his stead. When the Holy Sabas and the other Fathers of the Desert had under-

(b) This appears by the words of Cyrilus a little lower.

(d) Γρὸς δ' ὁ ἡρασμένῳ Σάβασ, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῆ ἐρήμης πατέρες, ταῦτα συνδέμενον ἢ ἰωάννην, συναχθέντες διμαρτύρατο αὐτὸν Σαβίτην ὡς κοινῶνιαν μὴ δεξάσθαι, ἀλλ' ὡς τὸν ἐν Χαλκηδὼνι συνόδῳ περικληθῆεν, ἔχοντα πάντας συμμαχούσας, &c.

(a) It appears by what follows that *John* was own'd as Bishop before they could have any such Reasons as the *Vindicator* assigns, to believe that *Elias* had resign'd his Right.

'do it they would all stand by him and assist him. By this means, *John* through the Reverence which he had for the Fathers, was kept from doing what he had promis'd the Governor. But the Emperor *Anastasius*, when he found that *John* did not do as he had promis'd, being mightily enrag'd at it, remov'd *Olympius* from his Government, and sent *Anastasius* the Son of *Pamphilus*, whom he had made Governor of *Palestine*, in his Room, to make *John* Communcate with *Severus*, and Anathematize the said Council; Or, if he would not do it, to thrust him out of his Bishoprick. He comes to *Jerusalem*, and unexpectedly sets upon the Archbishop, and commits him to the

(b) Πάντες δὲ οἱ τ' ἁγίας πόλεως οἰκήτορες ἐπεχάρησαν, διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπον καὶ περθεῖν τὸν Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἡλίου.

'publick Prison; which all the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem* (b) were glad of, because he had Supplanted and Betray'd the Archbishop *Elias*. Now there was one *Zacharias*, the Chief Magistrate of *Cæsarea*, who got privately into the Prison, and advis'd him after this manner: That if he desired not to be deprived of his Bishoprick, he should by no means be prevail'd upon to receive *Severus* into Communion; but to the Governor he should pretend that he would; That he should pretend to the Governor, that indeed he was ready to do it, even there where he was, but least some should say that he was by Force and Compulsion brought to it, he had rather do what he Commanded, in Publick, viz. the next Lords Day. This the Archbishop did, and the Governor being perswaded by what he said, restored him to his Church. Being got out of Prison, he call'd together by Night an Assembly of the Monks from all Parts, who, according to some that counted 'em, amounted to the number of Ten Thousand, and because the Church would not hold so great a number of Persons, he order'd that on the Lords Day they should meet together at *S. Stephen's Church*, which was big

(c) Συνελθόντες ἕν ἅπαντες οἷτε μογαχοί, καὶ οἱ πολῖται.

'enough to contain all. Being all met together, as well the (c) People of the City, as the Monks, together with *Anastasius* the Governor, and *Zacharias* the Governor of *Cæsarea*, and *Hypatius* the Emperors Sisters Son, who was just then come to *Jerusalem* to offer up his Prayers, and pay his Vows there for his Deliverance from the Captivity of *Vitalianus*; when the Governor expected that the Emperors Will should be fulfill'd, the Archbishop went up into the Pulpit, together with *Theodosius* and *Sabas*, the two Chief Governors of the Monks; and (d) all the

(d) Καὶ πάντες ὁ λαός, &c.

'People for many hours together, cried out, Anathematize the Hereticks, Confirm the Council. So they all 3 with one Voice Anathematiz'd *Nestorius*, and *Eutyches*, and *Severus*, and *Soterichus*, and all others that did not receive the Council of *Chalcedon*. When they had thus done, and were come down from the Pulpit, the Abbot *Theodosius* turning to the People, if any one (says he) does not receive

‘ the four Councils as the four Gospels, let him be Anathema. These things being done, the Governor being afraid of so great a number of Monks, fled away to *Cæsarea*. — When the Emperor *Anastasius* had heard what was done, he prepared to drive by force into banishment the Archbishop *John*, and *Theodosius* and *Sabas*, who went up into the Pulpit together with him. And his design being known at *Jerusalem*, *Theodosius* and *Sabas* the Governors of the Monks, those Champions of Piety, those Defenders and Supporters of the Orthodox Faith, call’d together all the Monks of the Desert, and in the name of all together wrote a supplicatory Letter to the Emperor.

The Letter which they Wrote is recorded by *Cyillus*: It runs thus, *To the most Religious and Pious Emperor, &c. the request and supplication of Theodosius and Sabas Abbots; together with the other Governors of Monasteries, and all the Monks that are in Jerusalem, the Desert round about it, and that inhabit on Jordan, &c. They profess in that Epistle, that they had all rather see their City Jerusalem burnt and destroy’d, and besides that had all rather lose their Lives, than accept of an Eutychian Patriarch; and they humbly beseech the Emperor, not to depose (b) their most Holy Archbishop John. Though in the beginning of the Epistle there is mention only of the Monks, yet all the Inhabitants of Palestine are supposed to be included, as may be gathered from these words in the Epistle: (c) All we the Inhabitants of this Holy Land. When the Emperor receiv’d it, he was engaged in the War with *Vitalianus*, and on that account, he desisted from his purpose of deposing the Patriarch *John*. Thus, *John* (says *Cyillus*) escap’d being deposed from the Throne of Jerusalem.*

(b) καὶ τῷ ὁσιντάτῃ ἡμῶν Ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Ἰωάννῃ.

(c) Πάντων ἡμῶν ἡμεῖς ὁ ἅγιος γῆς ταύτης οἰκιστὴς.

For (d) seven Years and nine Months, i. e. as long as he lived, he continu’d Bishop of *Jerusalem*, acknowledged unanimously by all, and that too, though for (e) three years of that time, *Elias* the old Bishop was still living. If *Victor Tununen* may be believ’d, *John* continu’d Bishop of *Jerusalem* no less than nineteen years, for he says that he died, and that *Peter* succeeded him, in the consulship of *Belisarius*, which falls in with the eighth and ninth year of the Emperor *Justinian*; but that is a very great mistake, no less than that other of his concerning *John*’s Anathematizing the Council of *Chalcedon*, and receiving *Severus* into Communion, which, he says, he did when first he was made Bishop. As *Victor* being an *African* knew nothing exactly of what was done amongst the *Greeks*, so ’twas natural for him to suppose that *John* actually did so, since he was put into the place of another deposed for refusing to do it.

(d) Ibid. c. 68.

(e) *Elias* died on July Indict. 11. (as appears c. 60.) i. e. Anno Dom. 518. *Nicephorus Patr. in Chron.* assigns him 11 years.

Whether since the beginning of Christianity, there was ever a Church more flourishing and zealous for the Orthodox Faith, than that of *Jerusalem* was at this time, may very well be doubted: And how can we imagine, that so Stout and so Orthodox a Church, as that of *Jerusalem* then was, would have

have ever submitted to the Successor of *Elias*, if it had not been their Opinion that they might lawfully do it? They that could oppose the Emperor so bravely and courageously as they did, they that declare boldly to him, that they had all rather lose their lives than submit to an *Eutychian* Bishop, are so far from rejecting their Patriarch *John*, because put into the place of another unjustly deposed, that they take no notice at all of it; are so far from deposing him themselves for being so constituted, that they supplicate the Emperor not to depose him. After so great a demonstration of their Stoutness, and their Zeal for the Orthodox Faith, as the foregoing Relation affords, 'twould be needless to remind the Reader, that likewise before that time, when *Elias* was their Patriarch, they pronounced an Anathema upon even the Emperor himself; 'twould be needless to tell him of the οἱ κατὰ Παλαισίνην θεοφῶς μοναχοί, which *Theophanes the Chronographer* speaks of, who a

(a) Ζήλω Οείφ κινθῆντες, &c. p. 130. (as he says) by a divine zeal, came from Palestine to Constantinople, to oppose in dispute the Heretick *Severus*. It is

needless likewise to heap up together those many glorious Epithets which are bestow'd by the Antients on the two great Abbots, St. *Sabas* and St. *Theodosius*. 'Tis needless to remind the Reader of those Praises that are given them by *Cyrillus* in the place above

(b) Οἱ ἡσ μοναχῶν ταξίαρχοι, καὶ ἑνστέλειαι ἀγωνισαί, καὶ ἡ ὀρθοδοξίας σεσληνοὶ καὶ πρέμαχοι, Θεοδοσιῶ τε καὶ Σάβας.

(c) Θεοδοσιῶ καὶ Σάβας οἱ ἀγίατοι. Inveſt. 1. in Armenios p. 390.

(d) Syn 3. Θεοδοσιῶ καὶ Σάβας ἡσ ὀρθοδοξῶν ὑπέρμαχοι, καὶ ἡ ἑρήμῃ ἡσ ἀγκυμένον καὶ μοναχῶν οἱ ἀπλανεῖς ἀστέρες καὶ πύλας.

(e) M. S. Baroc. 91. Biblioth Oxon. Responſo ad Queſt. de antiquitate Jejuniorum 40 malis, SS. Apostolorum & S. deipara. Καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐν Δαμασκῷ θεολόγον συγγραφεὺς ἔχει καὶ νομοθέτας καὶ ὁ πρῶτος τετάρτην καὶ ὀκταμενηνὴν σύνδοον, ὁ δὲ μέσσην καὶ ἑκτὴν καὶ ἑβδόμην. καὶ αὐτῶν ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ πατέριστε καὶ διδασκαλοί.

(f) Ὁ ἡγιασμένος Σάβας, p. 310.

(g) Λαμπερὰ τὸ περισωσμένον πατριῶ ἡμῶν Σάβας τὰ θεῖα χάρισματ' ἡ μὴ γὰρ πολιτεία ἐνδύξῃ, ὁ δὲ βίος, ἡ ἀρετὴ, καὶ ἡ πίστις ὀρθοδόξῃ, c. 37.

(h) Ὁ ἐπίστομος ἀσκητὴ καὶ ἐσθλὸς ἀνδρωπῶς Σάβας ὁ σοφὸς καὶ ἐπισήμων διδασκαλός, ὁ καὶ ὀρθοδόξως συνήγορος, καὶ ὁ κακοδόξως κατήγορος, ὁ πρὸς καὶ ἀρετὴν ὁκίονος ἀναδείχτης, ὁ τὰ θεῖα τάλαντα πολυπλαπλάσας, ὁ τὴν ἐξ ὕψους δύναμιν ἐκδυσάμενος, c. 63.

both

both together styl'd (a) true Sons of Light and Sons of Day, Men of God, faithful Servants, the Pillars and Supporters of Truth, men of excellent desires. These are very extraordinary Encomiums, and from them it is apparent how great and extraordinary Persons both for Piety and Orthodoxy Theodosius and Sabas were. I shall not mention how great a Veneration and Honour the greatest Persons of S. Sabas's own Age were wont to pay him; how the (b) Archbishop and all the People went out to meet him when he came to *Cæsarea*; how the Emperor (c) Justinian, when he came to Constantinople sent his own Yachts to receive him; how the Patriarch of Constantinople together with other great Bishops went out with the Yachts to meet him; how when he came into the Presence, the Emperor ran to salute him; how he kiss'd his head, shed tears for joy to see him, and receiv'd his Blessing. So great an Honour was ward appearance he was nothing else but a poor (d) ragged old Man. I pass by all these things: But this the Reader is desired to take notice of and remember, That by both the Churches, as well the (e) Western as the Eastern, Theodosius and Sabas are both honoured with the Title of Saints. They are not only Worship'd as Saints, but in the Liturgies, the Menology, and the Anthology, of the Greek Church, they have, as two of the Sancti majorum gentium, their proper and peculiar Offices. Let us hear a little those Elogiums and Praises which they give them; (not private Authors, but the whole Greek Church in her sacred Offices) (f) most blessed Sabas, (says the Church in her addresses to that Saint;) The unextinguish'd Lamp of Continence, the most resplendent Luminary of those that live a monastick life, enlighten'd with love, the unshaken Tower of Perseverance; — Holy Sabas, the fiery Pillar of Vertues, the light that guides those that sail on the Sea of the World to the Shoar of Heaven, thou that opposest the Spirits of Error, the pure Vessel of the Holy Ghost, the conductor of Monastick Persons, the exact measure of Temperance, the most illu-

(a) Ἦν δὲ, &c. Erat autem Pater noster Sabas moderato animi sensu, moribus lenibus & simplicissimis, plenusque omni spiritali prudentia & discretione: caritatem vero non fictam, sed maximè sinceram erga memoratum beatum Abbatem Theodosium servabat; qui consimilem pariter sinceritatem erga Patrem nostrum retinebat; ὅταν δ' ἀνθρώποις ἀμειψόμενοι ἦσαν οὗτοι καὶ οὗτοι ἡμέτεροι, ἀνθρώποι τὰ θεῶν καὶ πιστοὶ θεοφρονεῖς, ὅλοι οὗτοι καὶ ἐδεδωκίμασαν τὸ ἀληθές, ἀνδρες ἐπιθυμῶντες τοῦ κυρίου. Il duo Monachorum catum omnem ad regnum colorum dirigebant. Siquidem beatus Theodosius pater, dux, & Archimandrita erat totius sancte civitati subiecti Cænobiaci canonicis, sanctificatus vero Sabas princeps fuit & legislator totius Anachoreticæ vitæ, omniumque qui in cellis degere selegebant, c. 65.

(b) Vita ejus c. 75.

(c) C. 70, 71.

paid our Sabas, though as to his out-

(d) Vide c. 51.

is desired to take notice of and

(e) The day dedicated to S. Theodosius is the 11th. of Jun. that dedicated to Sabas is the 5th. of Decemb. Martyrolog. Rom. S. Sabæ abbatiss, qui in Palestinâ miro sanctitatis exemplo refulsit, &c. S. Theodosii Cænobiarchæ quæ multa pro fide Catholica passus, in pace tandem quievit.

(f) Σάββα πάμμακαρ, ἐγκρατείας λυχνία, ἀσβεστό φωστὴρ τῆς μονάζοντων, ὁ διαγυγίσας ἀγάπης φεικτικαίαις λαλαπτυσμένον πύργον ἀκλόνητον ὑπομονῆς, &c. — Σάββα θεόφρον, ἀρετῶν σῦλον ὁ πυρρινόν πύργον ὁ ἐκ βαλάντιος καὶ κοσμητικῆς τὰς λαὸς λιμένας πύργον τὸ θεῖον καὶ θεομνητὸν, πλάνης τὰ πνεύματα ὁ καταβαλὼν, πνεύματος ἀγίου τὸ καθεαυτὸν δοχεῖον, ὁ ποδηγῆτης τῆς μονάζων, ἡκερβόμενῃ τε εὐχῇ καὶ ἐγκρατείαι, τὴν ταπεινώσεως περίβλεστον τὴν ὕψιν — κανὼν ἀρετῆς ἀκριβέστατος, &c.

fricious Example of Humility, the perfect Rule of Virtue. Much more of the like Nature she pours out in the Praises of that Saint ; and much of the same Nature she offers up to S. Theodosius. (*) Holy Fa-

(*) Ὅτι πάντες θεοφύλαξε Θεοδοσίε &c.
(†) Ap. Anthol. Epim. Περὶ τελευτῆς
τῷ ἐν ἀνελύξῃ τοῖς τὸ κυεῖν σε, &c.

ther, Divine Theodosius, says therein a Prayer to him composed by Theophanes. See likewise that (†) Hymn, which she sings in Praise of him, composed by Jobanne

Damascenus. Thus much I thought fit to say concerning those two great Men, that the World may see what Examples those are which we follow.

But it was not only the Church of Palastine, S. Sabas, and S. Theodosius, &c. that acknowledged John as true Patriarch of Jerusalem : It appears from an Epistle of Johanne Cappadox Patriarch of Constantinople, and the Synod of Constantinople, that was call'd under him in the beginning of the Emperor Justin, viz. in the year 518. that the whole Greek Church acknowledged him. (The Latin Church at that time was broken off from the Communion of the Greek

(a) A. G. V. p. 185. Τοῖς συμφύχοις
καὶ ὁμοδόχοις τὸ σύνδεσμον τῆ ἀγάπης ἐν
αἰνῇ Χριστοῦ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἀναβάν δε-
δοκάς· κινεῖ καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν περὶ-
τόματα τῷ δικαιοῦ. &c.

car God, who has given from Heaven the Bond of Charity in Peace, to Men that are of one

(b) Ἀναγκάως ἐλογισάμην σημῶνα
τῇ σὺ θεοκλήμ. ἵνα τῇ συνεργίᾳ τοῦ
ἀγίου πνεύματος ταῦτα γινώσκῃς ἐπισ-
τολογητῇ τῷ λόγῳ τῆ ἀληθείας &c.
ὅτι· αἰεὶς τῇ τῇ ἀγαθῇ διὰ τὰς
ἐκπέμφει ἐσπείρισται.

Church on the Account of Acacius formerly Patriarch of Constantinople) That Epistle is extant in the Acts of the Council

(a) sub Mennâ, and is directed to our John Archbishop of Jerusalem, and to the Metropolitans under him. It begins thus ; Christ

Soul and of one Faith, has Commanded that what is done by some should be Communicated to all, &c.

(b) I have (therefore) thought it necessary to signify (these things) to your Holiness, that by the assistance of the Holy Ghost, you, by knowing what has been done, may be confirm'd in the Word of Truth. The business of the Epi-

file is to let him, and his Bishops know, that Severus the Heretical Patriarch of Antioch had been Anathematiz'd at Constantinople, &c. and about the same matter there is another Epistle sent from the same Synod of Constantinople to Epiphanius Archbishop of Tyre. There is extant in the same Acts of the Council sub Mennâ, an Epistle of our John Archbishop of Jerusalem, and the Synod of the three Palastines, (to which, besides the Archbishop himself, there are the Subscriptions of 34 Bishops) to the Patriarch of Constantinople in answer to that above-mention'd.

(c) Τῷ δεσπότῃ καὶ τῷ θεωρισεσάτω
καὶ πατρίτῳ συλλειτουργῷ ἱερῶν καὶ τῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ τῇ οὐλοχρεῖστον Κωνσταντι-
νόπολιν ἀγία συνόδῳ, ἱερῶν ἐλέω
Θεοῦ ἐπισκοπῇ ἐκπύλλωμαν, καὶ ἡ καὶ
τὰς τρεῖς Παλαιστίνης· τῆς οὐλοῦ ὑπὸ τὰς
ἐργίας Χριστοῦ τῷ πάντων Θεῷ τόπος
συνδοῖ· ἐν κυρίῳ χαίρειν.

John of Jerusalem, because at that time the old Bishop Elias was Dead. For

(c) To my Lord and Fellow-Communicant, the most Pious and Holy John, and to the Holy Synod of Constantinople, John by the Mercy of God Bishop of Jerusalem, and the Holy Synod of the Three Palastines, now sitting in the Holy Places of Christ the God of all Things, Health in the Lord. Neither can it be alleged, That therefore the Patriarch and the Church of Constantinople acknowledged our

(d) Cyril. V. Sabas, c.

John of Jerusalem, because at that time the old Bishop Elias was Dead. For

Empe-

Emperor Anastasius and the Synod of Constantinople compleated that about which they write to John of Jerusalem four days before, viz. on the (a) 16th of the same Month. And besides it is plain from the Words of the Epistle of the Patriarch of Constantinople to our John of Jerusalem, that before that time they own'd the latter as true Bishop of Jerusalem.

As our Archbishop John was in his life time acknowledged by all the Church, so he has been all along in the following Ages. First, Cyrillus Scythopolitanus, who wrote his History of the Life of S. Sabas, about Thirty three years

after (b) his Death, speaks every where of him as of one of the true Bishops of Jerusalem, and in one place he says, that he was (c) adorn'd with a Divine Prudence or Understanding.

Secondly, In the Constantinopolitan Council sub Mennâ, (which was celebrated in the year 536. where the Pope of Rom: was concern'd as well as the Greek Church) his Epistle to the Patriarch of Constantinople, and the Patriarch's Epistle to him, are recited in the same manner as the Epistles of other Orthodox Bishops are wont to be in the Councils; and in the Acts of that Council he is Styled more than once John Archbishop of Jerusalem

(d) of Holy Memory. Thirdly, The Author of the Synodicon speaking of that Synod of Monks which wrote that Epistle to the Emperor Anastasius, in which the Eutychian Heresie is Anathematiz'd, and the Emperor desired not to Depose their most Holy Archbishop John, gives it the Title of a (e) Divine and Holy Synod. Which shews, that he very well approv'd of the Proceeding of those Monks as to their Acquiescence under John their Archbishop.

Fourthly, It is certain that the Names both of John and Elias were continued all along in the Sacred Diptychs of the Church of Jerusalem. This is expressly asserted not only by the Author of the Baroccian Treatise in the Words above Cited, but likewise by Photius the Patriarch of Constantinople, in a (f) Treatise of his not yet publish'd. His Words are express to our Purpose. They are these, (g) Elias Bishop of Jerusalem being Banish'd from his Church by the Eutychians, they made John Bishop in his stead; who had promised to Communicate with Severus, and to Anathematize the Fourth Council. But he doing the contrary by the persuasion of S. Sabas and S. Theodosius, was so far from being either punish'd or reprehended, that to this very day he is Commemorated as a Saint, together with Elias. Neither did they who Communicated with him, suffer any thing in their Reputation for doing so.

Επιτιμήθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἀγίος, μετὰ ἡλίου μέλει τῆς σήμερον μνημονεύεται· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οἱ κοινωνήσαντες αὐτῷ ἑτάδον τι εἰς τὸ οὐκ εἶναι τιμῆν·

(a) Vide Acta Concilii sub Mennâ Act. V. p. 181.

(b) The Archbishop's.

(c) C. 35. Συνίσαι Θεῶν κοσμήμεν.

(d) Αἱ ἁγίας μνήμης Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον γενόμενον Ἱεροσολύμων Rurius p. 186. Ἰωάννη τῷ τῆς ὁσίας μνήμης γενομένῳ Ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Ἱεροσολύμων.

(e) Act. V. p. 157. Ἰωάννην τὸν τῆς ὁσίας μνήμης Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον γενόμενον Ἱεροσολύμων Rurius p. 186. Ἰωάννη τῷ τῆς ὁσίας μνήμης γενομένῳ Ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Ἱεροσολύμων.

(f) Θεῶν καὶ Ἱερῶν μονασῶν λογιζομένων συνεπιστάσις. Syn. III.

(g) Entitled, Συναγωγὴ καὶ ἀποδείξεις ἀκρίβεις, &c. MS. Baroc. 91. Biblioth. Oxon.

(g) Τῷ Ἱεροσολύμων ἡλίου παρὰ τοῦ Ἀνεσώτων Ἰωαννῆς ἐκκλησίας * αν. * In Manuscripto τῆς ἐκκλησίας παρὰ τοῦ ἀντιστήσαντος τῶν εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἡρώων Ἰωάννης, συνδύμενος κοινωνῆσαι Σεβήρῳ καὶ ἀναθεματίζεσθαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν συνόδον περὶ τοῖς ἀγίοις Σεβάρῳ καὶ Θεοδοσίῳ, καὶ τὰναντία διαπερῆσαι τὸν μόνον ἑδὲν ἐβλάδην, ἐπεὶ

I shall conclude this Chapter with an Observation concerning the good old Archbishop *Elias*. He, though so Tyrannically deposed, though deposed for adhering to the Orthodox Faith, yet continu'd still to communicate with those who acknowledged his Successor *John*. This is plain from the Testimony of *Cyrillus Scythopolitanus*, who (a) tells us, That (near three years after he was banish'd) a little before he fell sick and

(a) *V. S. Sabas* c. 60.

died, *S. Sabas* and *Euthalius*, the Governor of those Monasteries which he had built at *Jericho* when he was Archbishop, and another Abbot went to *Aila*, where he lay confin'd in banishment, to give him a visit: Though *S. Sabas* and the rest, had immediately acknowledged his Successor as soon as he was deposed, though they still adher'd to that Successor as the true Archbishop of *Jerusalem*, and though *Euthalius* had been in a particular manner obliged to *Elias* by being constituted by him, the Governor of his own Monasteries; yet the good old man takes no notice at all of it, but as *Cyrillus* says, (b)

(b) Οὕτως μετὰ χαρᾶς δεξάμενος ὁ Πατριάρχης Ηλίας, ἐκείτῃσι παρ' ἐαυτῶν ἡμέρας τινὰς ἐν αἷς ἡμέραις, ὡς μὲν τὸ πνεῦμα λυχνικὸν ἀπολύσεως ἕως ὥρας ἐνάτης ἐκ ἐρανίστο αὐτοῖς, οὕτως ὁ ἐνάτην ἐξήρχετο, καὶ ἐκοινωνεῖ μετ' αὐτῶν, &c.

C H A P. VIII.

S. Silverius Bishop of Rome being violently deposed by Belisarius the Emperor Justinian's General, his Successor Vigilius, though put into his place so depriv'd, though constituted by the bare Authority of Belisarius against the consent of the Clergy, and though Silverius never gave up his Right, is own'd and receiv'd by the 5th. General Council, and by all the Church, as a true Pope. He was generally own'd whilst Silverius himself was living. Baronius's conjecture concerning his being again ordain'd after Silverius's Death confuted, though for some time he communicated with Hereticks, yet it was not known to the Orthodox who communicated with him.

IN the year 538. *Silverius* Pope of Rome was deposed by *Belisarius*, the Emperor *Justinian's* General, then in Italy, being accused of a design to betray the City of Rome to the

Goths, and *Vigilius* was made Pope in his stead. There being a suspicion (says (c) *Procopius Casariensis*) that *Silverius* the Bishop of the City intended to deliver up the City to the Goths, *Belisarius* sent him away immediately into Greece, and a little after made another Bishop in his stead, by name *Vigilius*.

(c) *L. 1. de bel. Goth. c. 25.* ὁποῦσις ὁ Σιλβέριον τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερεῖα χειρηνέμενος ὡς δὴ προδοσίαν εἰς τὸ τῶς πρόσθεν, αὐτὸν μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπέμψεν αὐτίκα ἕτερον δὲ ἀρχιερεῖα ἐλίγῳ ὕστερον, Βυζύλιον ὄνομα, κατέστησάτο.

lius. To the same purpose the (b) *Continuator of Marcellinus Comes's Chronicle*, and *Paulus* (c) *Diaconus*, least any one should suspect that, though he is said to be deposed by *Belisarius*, yet it was not barely by his Authority, but by a *Synod of Bishops*: I shall here present the Reader with that particular Account of the whole Proceeding, which we find in (d) *Liberatus Diaconus*, who flourish'd at that time. He tells us, That Pope *Agapetus* being dead, and *Silverius* being chosen by the City of Rome in his stead, the Empress perswaded *Vigilius*, *Agapetus's* Deacon, who was at that time at *Constantinople*, to enter into a secret Engagement, That if he should be made Pope, he would condemn the Council of *Chalcedon*, and communicate with (the Hereticks) *Theodosius*, *Anthimus*, and *Severus*, and confirm their belief by an Epistle. He having engaged himself to do so, she writes a Letter by him to *Belisarius*, requiring him to depose *Silverius* and to make *Vigilius* Bishop in his room. *Belisarius* to fulfill the Empress's Will, and for the lucre of a sum of Money which *Vigilius* had offer'd him, gets *Silverius* to be accused as having written to the *Goths* and engaged to deliver up the City into their hands. And 'tis reported (saies *Liberatus*) that one *Marcus*, and one *Julianus* forged Letters in his name to that purpose. Now *Belisarius* and his Wife had privately perswaded *Silverius* to do the same thing which the Empress had engaged *Vigilius* to do, but he refused, and betakes himself to a Church. *Belisarius* sends a messenger to him to invite him again to the Palace; he accordingly goes relying upon an Oath which was made him that he should have leave to return. He returns again to the Church, and again is commanded by *Belisarius* to come to the Palace; but he would not go out of the Church, well knowing that some evil was design'd

(b) *Vitiges Tyrannus exercitu aggregato Romam obsidet cui tunc faventem Papam Silverium Belisarius ab Episcopatu submovit, & loco ejus Vigilium diaconum ordinavit.*

(c) *Hist. l. 16. Statinque ei (Belisario) à Theodora Augusta præceptio allata est, ut Papam Silverium convictum accusatione falsorum testium in exilium traderet, eo quod Anthimum hereticum Constantinopolitanum recuperatione recipere nolisset. Quod Belisarius licet nolens nihil moratus effecit. Passus denique est Papa Silverius ad Pontiam insulam in qua exulans obiit.*

(d) *Breviar. c. 22. Romana Civitas (Agapeto Papa Constantinopoli defuncto) Silverium elegit ordinandum, Augustus vero vocans Vigilium Agapeti diaconum, proferri sibi secreto ab eo flagitavit, ut si Papa fieret, tolleretur synodus (Chalced.) & scriberet (communicaret cum) Theodosio, Anthimo, & Severo, & per Epistolam suam eorum firmaret fidem; promittens dare ei præceptum ad Belisarium, ut Papa ordinaretur, & dari centenaria septem. Lubenter ergo suscepit Vigilius promissam ejus amore principatus & auri. Et factâ professione Romam profectus est; ubi veniens invenit Silverium Papam ordinatum. Belisarius (tunc in Italia existenti) tradens præceptum Augustæ promisit ei duo auri centenaria, si Silverio remoto, ordinaretur ipse pro eo. Belisarius vero Romam reversus, evocans Silverium ad palatium, intentabat ei calumniam, quasi Gothis scripsisset ut Romam introirent. Fertur autem Marcum quendam Scholasticum, & Julianum quendam prætorianum fiktas de nomine Silverii composuisse literas Regi Gothorum scriptas, ex quibus convinceretur Silverius Romanam velle perdere civitatem. Secreto autem Belisarius & ejus conjux persuadebant Silverio implere præceptum Augustæ, ut tolleretur Chalcedonensis Synodus, & per Epistolam suam Hereticorum firmaret fidem. — Ad quem rursus mandavit Belisarius ut ad Palatium veniret. Qui de Ecclesiâ exire volebat doctos sibi preparados agnoscent. Sed postea orans, & causam suam domino commendans, exiit, & ad Palatium venit. Qui filius ingressus, à suis ulterius non est vîsus. Et aliâ die Belisarius convocatis*

Presbyteris & Diaconis & Clericis omnibus, mandavit eis ut alium sibi Papam eligerent. Quibus dubitantibus, & nonnullis videntibus, favore Belisarii ordinatus est Vigilus. Silverius autem in exilium missus est, in civitatem provincie Lycia, quae Patara dicitur. —

Silverio veniente Pataram, venerabilis Episcopus civitatis ipsius venit ad imperatorem, & judicium dei contestatus est de tanta sedis Episcopi expulsionem, multos esse dicens in hoc mundo Reges, & non esse unum, sicut ille Papa est super Ecclesiam mundi totius, à sua sede expulsus. Quem audiens imperator, revocari Romam Silverium iussit, & de literis illis iudicium fieri, ut si probaretur ab ipso fuisse scriptas, in quacunque civitate Episcopus degeret; si autem falsae fuissent probatae, restitueretur sedi suae. Pelagius vero currenti cum voluntate Augusta, volebat irritum facere imperatoris preceptum, ne Silverius Romam reverteretur, sed praevalente imperatoris iussione, Silverius ad Italiam reductus est. Cujus adventu territus Vigilus, ne sede pelleretur, Belisario mandavit: Trade mihi Silverium, alioqui non possum facere quod à me exigis. Ita Silverius traditus est duobus Vigilii defensoribus & servis ejus, qui in Palmariam insulam adductus, sub eorum custodia defecit inedia.

‘to be false, he should be restored to his Sec. This news being carried to the Empress, she endeavoured to prevent Silverius’s return to Rome; but she could not prevail, and Silverius was brought back to Italy by the Emperor’s command. Now Vigilus being terrified at his coming, lest he should lose his Sec, required Belisarius, to deliver him up into his hands, telling him, that if he did not do so, he should not be able to pay him that sum of Money which he had promis’d him. So Belisarius gave him up into the hands of Vigilus’s Servants, who carried him into the Isle Palmaria, where in their custody he died of want.

This is the account which *Liberatus* has given us, and the same account, as to the main we have in the *Pontifical*. It appears from hence, That *Silverius* was not onely deposed without any *Synod*, but likewise by an inferior Person, not by the order of the *Sovereign Power*; that (besides that) he was deposed very unjustly and tyrannically without any formal *Trial*; and lastly, that *Vigilius* was made Pope without any *Election*, expressly against the consent of the *Clergy* of *Rome*, by the bare Arbitrary Power of *Belisarius*.

Though such were the Circumstances of *Silverius*’s deprivation, though after his deprivation he never gave up his right, and though *Vigilius* was (besides that) so *uncanonically* constituted, yet because he appear’d to be *Orthodox*, he

him. At last he yielded to go, and commending himself and his cause to God by Prayer, he went thither: He enter’d in alone, and was afterwards never seen by those that attended him. Another day *Belisarius* call’d together the Presbyters, and the Deacons, and all the rest of the Clergy, and commanded them to choose another Pope. Which when they scrupled to do, and some laugh’d at the command, *Vigilius* was by his order ordain’d Pope. Now *Silverius* being banish’d to *Patara* a City of *Lycia*, the Bishop of that City addressed himself to the Emperor, and reason’d with him concerning the Expulsion of *Silverius*, telling him that there were many Kings in the World, but but one Pope, the Head of the Church of the whole World. (This the Popes at that time had pretended to be, and their Flatterers humour’d them in it.) ‘By this the Emperor was induced to recall *Silverius*, and gave order that those Letters which were produced against him should be enquired into, That if it could be proved that he wrote them, he should be banish’d to any City they should think fit; ‘but if they appear’d

he was own'd and acknowledged by all; by the People of Rome even though they very much hated him for his Cruelty to his Predecessor and for other ill Actions, and by all the Catholick Church, particularly by the 5th. General Council. He govern'd as long as he liv'd, near 18 years, and to this day is reckon'd by all as one of the true Popes of Rome. I need not produce the Authorities of any of the Antients to prove that he was generally acknowledged, it being a truth so notorious. But there are four things which I must not omit taking notice of.

1. That there is extant in *Isidorus Mercator* an Epistle of *Silverius*, suppos'd to be then in banishment, to *Vigilius*, in (a) which he excommunicates him and degrades him from the Ministry for invading his See by *Simony*; and he likewise excommunicates all those that adhere to him. And to this Epistle and Sentence, four other Bishops of *Campania* subscribe. A second Epistle, is from one *Amator* a Bishop, to *Silverius*, in which he condoles with him for the injuries which he had suffer'd, and desires to know the circumstances of his Ejection; and a third there is from *Silverius* to *Amator* in Answer to his. In this he tells *Amator*, That *Belisarius* trap'd him into the Palace, and so detain'd him and sent him into Banishment; (b) But (says he) I do not therefore resign up my right to my See, but together with such Bishops as I could gather together, I have excommunicated those who did so to me. To these Epistles I answer, That they are all fictitious and forged by that idle and ignorant Impostor *Mercator*. This appears from the Barbarousness of the Style in which they are writ, from the falseness of the Stories contain'd in 'em, and from their Date. For whereas the 1st. is pretended to be dated in the Consulship of *Basilius*, and the last in the 5th. Consulship of *Justinian* when he was Consul together with *Belisarius*. It is very certain, First, That *Basilius* was not Consul till two or three years after *Silverius* was deposed. Secondly, That *Belisarius* was never Consul after the year 535, which was two or three years before *Silverius's* Expulsion. Thirdly, That *Justinian* was never a 5th. time Consul. Fourthly, That *Justinian* and *Belisarius* were never Consuls together. So ignorant an Impostor was that idle Fellow the Forger of those Epistles; for farther satisfaction the Reader is desired to consult *Blondel* his *Pseudo Isidorus*. I shall only add that all those three Epistles are now rejected as *Spurious* by

(a) *Novumque scelus erroris in Apostolica sede rursus niteris inducere; Et in morem Simonis cujus discipulum te ostendis operibus, datâ pecuniâ, meque repulso qui (favente domino) tribus jam jugiter emensis temporibus et prasideo, tempora mea nitaris invadere. Habeto ergo, cum his qui tibi consentiunt, pœna damnationis sententiam; sublatumque tibi nomen Et munus Ministerii sacerdotalis agnosce, spiritus judicio, Et Apostolicâ à nobis auctoritate damnatus. Sic enim decet fidem sanctorum Patrum in Ecclesiâ servari Catholicâ, ut quod habuit amittat qui improbabilî temeritate quod non accepit assumpserit. Dat. 8o. Kal. Principis Basilio. Caelius Silverius Papa urbis Romæ huic decreto Anathematis in Vigilio pervasore factô ad omnia statuta consensum præbens subscripsi. Pariter Et 4. Episcopi subscripserunt, id est, Terracinenfis, Fundanus, Firmanus, Et Minturnensis.*

(b) *Me verò vi retento, Et ante prædictam Patriciam dedactô, miserunt; in quo modo sustentor pane tribulationis Et aquâ angustia. Ego tamen propterea non dimisi nec dimittio officium meum: sed cum Episcopis quos congregare potui, eos qui talia erga me egerunt anathematizavi.*

(a) Ad Ep. 1. *Suspecta fidei epistolam cum alia probant, tum styli barbaries. — Surrepisse videtur adjecta nota Consularis, quia tempore Silverij neque Belisarius neque Basilus ullum Consulatum egerunt, inquit ad oram Biniur: verum mihi potius hæc arguere videtur Insuperis audacem insitiam, qui Basilum anno 541. Consulem celebratam dubius minimum annis præceperit. At de hęc Mercatoris aberrationibus Chronologicis jam sæpius conquiesci sumus. Ad Ep. 2. Hanc quoque suspecta fidei censent viri docti, nec timore, cum ipsam atque sequens virijs laborer.*

The last is condemn'd by even *Baronius* and *Binius* themselves. *Baronius* says 'twas written *ab aliquotioso*; and 'tis strange he should not likewise reject the other. 'Tis manifest that the second was forged onely as an occasion to write the last.

file, does not make *Silverius* complain of his being deposed without a *Synod*, he does not make him excommunicate his deposers and *Vigilius* and his Adherents, for that; for he takes no notice at all of it: but he makes him excommunicate his Deposers because they deposed him by *Fraud* and *Treachery*; and he makes him excommunicate *Vigilius* and his Adherents, because he had usurp'd his See by *Simony*.

2. *Baronius*, and out of him *Binius* (who is every where the Transcriber of *Baronius*) are willing to persuade the World, that after the death of *Silverius*, *Vigilius* resign'd the Popedom that so he might be *new Chosen*, and that being *new Chosen* he was made a *true Pope* by virtue of his *last* Consecration, not by virtue of his first. A strange and prodigious Fancy! Let us see what ground they have for it. Their only Argument is this, That in the *Pontifical* it is said, that after the death of *Silverius* there was a five days vacancy in the See. Now, say they, since *Vigilius* was made Pope before *Silverius's* death, how there should be a Five days Vacancy after *Silverius's* death, unless it was because *Vigilius* resign'd upon his death and was again chosen Pope after a Five days Vacancy, we cannot imagine. To this I answer, 1. That had there been such a Resignation, it must have been look'd upon as so extraordinary a thing, as that some one or other would have mention'd it: But *Liberatus Diaconus* who lived at that time, and gives a particular account of the Deprivation and death of *Silverius*, and of the Promotion of *Vigilius*, makes no mention of any such thing. So far is he from doing so, that the contrary may easily be gather'd from what he says. Having told his Reader, that *Vigilius* to make good his Promise to the Empress, had sent his Communicatory Letters to the Heretics *Theodisius*, *Anthimus* and *Soverus*, and confirm'd their Belief; he subjoins, *Et hæc Vigilius scribens Hereticis occultè, permansit sedens. And so he was continued in his See.* 2. It does not appear that the Author of the *Pontifical* meant, that there

was

was a Vacancy in the See of Five days after the death of Silverius: He might only mean that there was a Vacancy of Five days between the Deprivation of Silverius and the Promotion of Vigilius. 3. It is certain that the Author of the *Pontifical* writes very fabulously concerning Silverius and Vigilius, and plainly discovers, that he knew very little of the matter. As for his *cessavit Episcopatus dies 5.* he had so much used his Pen to, *cessavit Episcopatus*, at the end of every *Life*, that that comes in always of Course, even then when 'tis certain) there never was any Vacancy. Witness the *cessavit episcopatus dies 7.* between the death of Liberius and Felix II. and the *cessavit episcopatus diebus 39.* between the same Felix and Damasus. Than which there can be nothing more false: For Damasus did not succeed Felix but Liberius; and Felix being put into Liberius's place, was again turn'd out upon Liberius's Restauration, without any manner of Vacancy. So, rather than a *cessavit episcopatus* should be wanting, he adds in the Life of S. Fabian, *Et cessavit Episcopatus dies septem*: when we very well know, that between the Martyrdom of S. Fabian and the Consecration of his Successor S. Cornelius there was a Vacancy of no less than a Year, Four Months and Four Days. Our Author knew nothing of the Business; but a *cessavit Episcopatus* he would not be without.

3. That Vigilius was own'd and acknowledged as a true Pope, not only after the death of Silverius, but likewise before, appears 1. from hence, That there is no mention in any credible Author of his being by any rejected on the Account of Silverius; so far was he from being generally rejected. 2. From an Epistle of Eutherius a Bishop (as it seems of Spain) to him, wherein he desires his Opinion in some Points relating to the Church. That there was such an Epistle written to him by Eutherius,

appears from Vigilius's (a) Epistle in Answer to it: and that it was written in a very little time after Vigilius was made Pope is apparent from the date of Vigilius's Answer; for that is dated the (b) 1st. of March in the Consulship of Volusianus and Joannes, i. e. anno 538. 3. From an Epistle of the Church of Aufrasia to him, written by their King Theodebert, and sent by an Embassadour to him, to know his Judgment, what Penance ought to be inflicted on one who had Married his Brother's Wife. That there was such an Epistle written to him by K. Theodebert, is plain from an (c) Epistle which he wrote to Casarius Archbishop of Arles. And that that Epistle was sent him just after he was promoted to the Popedom, is apparent from the date of his Epistle to Casarius:

(a) Dilectissimo Fratri Eutherio Vigilius. Directas ad nos tue caritatis Epistolae, plenas Catholica inquisitionis sollicitudine, gratanter accepimus, benedictentes dei nostri clementiam, quia tales in extremis mundi partibus dignatur suis oculis providere pastores, per quos & pascuis valeant salutaribus abundare, & ab antiqui hostis rapacitate servari, ut infidus nequeant ejus susceptionis incurvere: unde certum est, quia promissae vos beatitudinis gratia subsequatur, quando a vobis caelestium perfectio doctrinarum tam vivaciter scrutamine perquiritur; scriptum est enim, Beati qui scrutantur testimonia ejus: in toto corde exquirunt eum. Hoc igitur, frater carissime, propositum tue consultationis tota mente tractantes, de te quod praevenire contendimus, qui regulam Catholicae fidei isdem fluitare tenere vestigiis, quibus eam in Apostolica fide cognoscis esse fundatam, &c.

(b) Data Kal. Martii Volusiano & Joanne Viris clariss. Cps.

(c) Si pro observatione mandatorum Catholica filios Ecclesiae opportune vel importune sacerdotes singulos decet instruere, quanto magis his, qui devotioni laudabili de rebus sibi dabit ad studium veniunt consulendi, competenti necesse est ordine responderi? Hinc est quod

quod gloriosi filii nostri Regis Theodeberti interrogationem, quâ nos per Modericum, virum illustrem, legatum suum credidit requirendos, duximus amplectendum: in quâ gloriam suam desiderat informari, cujusmodi pœnitentiâ possit illius purgari delictum, qui cum uxore fratris sui illicitum præsumpsit inire conjugium. Cui nos equidem missis affatibus, quorum tenorem tua fraternitas in subiectis inveniet, hoc indicare curavimus, &c.

(a) Datum pridie Nonarum Martiarum
Joanne V. C. Consule.

for that is dated on the (a) 6th. of March 538. I take no notice of what is said by the Cardinal Baronius and the Editors of the Councils, that the two afore-

said Epistles of Eutharius and K. Theodebert were written not to Vigilius but Silverius, and that being brought to Rome after the Expulsion of Silverius, Vigilius took upon him to answer 'em. That is only an Evasion: and 'tis plain from Vigilius's Words, that those Epistles were written, not to Silverius, but directly to him. And certain it is moreover, that Vigilius writes, both in his Epistle to Eutharius, and likewise in that to the Archbishop of Arles, as a Pope universally acknowledged.

4. It may possibly be alleged, That Vigilius when he was made Pope, sent his Communicatory Letters to the Hereticks, Theodosius, Anthimus, and Severus, and confirm'd their Heretical Doctrines; that therefore they who communicated with him, and own'd him as true Bishop of Rome, were men of no Principles, since they own'd a Heretick to be a true Pope. To this I answer, That all that was done by Vigilius in reference to the Hereticks, was done secretly, and was not known to the Orthodox who communicated with him till after he had utterly forsok the Hereticks. This appears 1st from the Testimony of Liberatus Diaconus, who speaking of the engagement between Vigilius and the Empress, says that it was a secret; that she secretly perswaded him to promise to communicate with those Hereticks: and speaking afterwards of his Communicatory Letters to the Hereticks, and of his subscribing to their Heresy, he adds, that this he did occultè. 2. From the Communicatory Letter it self which Vigilius wrote to the Hereticks, and to which he added his Subscription to their Doctrine. For in that, as it is extant in Liberatus and

(b) Oportet ergo, ut hæc quæ vobis scribo, nullus cognoscat: sed magis tantquam suspectum hic me sapientia vestra ante alios existimet habere, ut facilius possim hæc quæ cepi operari & perficere.

(c) Ad hæc rescripsit Vigilius: Absit hoc a me, Domina Augusta. Prius locutus sum male & insipienter, modo autem nullo modo tibi consentio, ut revocem hominem Hereticum & anathematizatum. Et si indignus Vicarius sum B. Petri Apostoli, quomodo fuerint antecessores mei sanctissimi Agapetus & Silverius qui cum damnaverunt.

Victor Tununensis, he expressly charges 'em (b) not to let any one know that he had written to 'em; and pretends this Reason, because by keeping it secret, he should be the better able to advance their Cause. So far indeed was Vigilius from being publickly known to be a Communicator with Hereticks and a Subscriber to their Heresy, that the Author of the Pontifical tells us, That he absolutely (c) refused to do as he had promis'd the Empress, and was therefore persecuted by her.

C H A P. IX.

Macarius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, being deposed by the Emperour Justinian, his Successor Eustochius is own'd as a true Patriarch by the Fifth General Council and the whole Catholick Church. After some time Eustochius himself is deposed by the Emperour, and Macarius, being restored, is received by the Church. According to our Adversaries Principles, either Eustochius, or Macarius, after his Restauration, was no true Patriarch: yet the Church receiv'd both.

ABout the end of the Year (a) 548, the 22d. of the Reign of Justinian, Macarius was constituted Patriarch of Jerusalem in the room of Peter deceas'd. After two years time he was deposed by the Emperour; partly, because he had been promoted without his Consent; and partly, because he was suspected to be a favourer of the Origenian Hereticks; and great Riots were rais'd at Jerusalem on his account. He being deposed, Eustochius was prefer'd in his stead. After Peter (says (b) Nicephorus Callisti) Macarius was ordain'd Patriarch of Jerusalem without the Emperour's Consent: and was therefore deposed. For he was said to be a great promoter of the Doctrines of Origen. He being expell'd, Eustochius was advanced to the holy Chair. As Nicephorus intimates in these words, That he was deposed by the Emperour: So in (c) another place he says so expressly. And (d) Evagrius intimates the same thing. And that there was no Synod, no for-

(a) Not on the Year 545, as some say; nor 546, as Baronius states it. It appears from Cyrillus Scythop. Vita S. Sabæ, p. 371, 373. That Peter died, and Macarius was constituted, not before about the end of the sixteenth Year after S. Sabas's death: Now S. Sabas died the fifth of Decemb. Indict. 10. the sixth Year of Justinian, as appears p. 353, 354. And therefore the end of the sixteenth Year after S. Sabas's death, was in the latter part of Justinian's 22d. Year, which began the First of April. And with this agrees what he says, pag. 369, 371. That the Abbot Gelasius died Octob. Ind. 9. That after him, besides the Intervals, George was Abbot seven Months; after him Cassianus ten Months; then Comon, in whose time Peter the Patriarch died, and Macarius was promoted. From hence it appears that Peter was Patriarch a-

bout 25 Years; not 20 onely, as Theophanes and Nicephorus Patriarch tell us; for he began three Years before the Beginning of Justinian's Reign, as appears p. 336, 337.

(b) Hist. Eccles. l. 17. c. 26. Καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Μαχάριος, ὑπὸ βασιλέως προσσημαίνον τὴν ἀσκήσειαν· διό καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἡγεσίᾳ κατέδειξε· ἐλέγετο γὰρ εἶπερ τις τὰ θεϊκῶς δόγματα μάλα προσέθεν· ὃ δὲ λαμβάνων Εὐστόχιος ὅτι τὴν ἐξουσίαν διέειπεν ἀνήγατο.

(c) C. 29.

(d) L. 4. c. 37. Μετ' ἐκείνον Μαχάριος, ὑπὸ βασιλέως προσσημαίνων, ὡς δεῖσθαι τῆς οἰκίας κατέδειξε· ἔρασκον γὰρ αὐτὸν τὰ θεϊκῶς προσέθεν δόγματα, καὶ ὅτι τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν Εὐστόχιος διεδέξατο.

mal Trial, may be gather'd from hence, That *Evagrius*, and after him *Nicephorus Callisti* say onely, that it was reported that he was a favourer of the *Origenian* Doctrines: Had he been formally tried and condemn'd, they would not have used that word. To these I add the Testimony of *Cyrillus Scythopolitanus*,

(a) *Vita S. Sabæ* c. 90. Πέτρος τῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ τελευτήσαντι, καὶ Μακαρίῳ τῷ τῆς αὐτοῦ δόξας Νεολαϊτικῶν χριστολογικῶν, καὶ πλείονος ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ πόλεως μαχρόν, ὁ μὲν εὐσεβείῃ βασιλεὺς σφοδρῶς ἀνανακλῖσας κατὰ τὰ τῷ Ἀσκητικῷ καὶ ὁφείλει Δειγματισμῷ, Μακάριον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ὑπερῶναι ἐκέλευεν· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἀββαίαν Κωνσταντίνου, καὶ ὁφείλει δειγματισμῷ, τὰ καθ' αὐτοὺς τῷ βασιλεὶ γνωρίσαντες, λίβελλον αὐτῷ ἐπιειδικάσι, παύσαν τὴν αὐτῷ Δειγματισμῷ ἀσκήσαντες ἐμφανῶς ποιήσαντες, ἰσχυρῶς τελευτήσαντι καὶ ἐκτείναν πλείους παρηγοίας μετὰ τοῦ, Εὐστοχίου οἰκονόμου ὄντα Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ ἐν Κωνσταντινὶ πόλει μαχρόν, ἐπισκοπῶν ἱεροσολύμων προσβαλλόμεναι· ὁ δὲ εὐσεβείῃ ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς Εὐστοχίον μὲν παλαίεργον γενέσθαι ἐπίσποσι, συγκοῦν δὲ οἰκουμενικὴν γενέσθαι ἐκέλευεν.

(b) Μακαρίῳ τῷ ἐκκλησιαστικῷ τῷ δειγματισμῷ κατὰ συσκευὴν· καὶ ἐκτείναντες Εὐστοχίῳ ἀντὶ Μακαρίου ἐπισκοπῶν ἱεροσολύμων, *Chronogr. ad an. 2. Justinian Jun.* He mistakes the Reign, and places it under *Justinian's* Successor.

Eustochius being thus promoted, was own'd as Patriarch of *Jerusalem* by the whole Catholick Church in the *Fifth General Council*, in which he had his *Representatives*: and continued Patriarch about (c) eleven or twelve Years.

(c) *Nicephorus Patriarch*, and *Theophanes* allow him but one Year: (and so *Baronius*;) But in the Author which they follow'd, there seems to have been an Error in the writing, *α* for *ιδ*. He was made Patriarch the 25th. Year of *Justinian*, just before the Fifth General Council was summon'd, as appears from *Cyril of Scythopolis's* Words, and was deposted on the 37th. of the same Emperour, as *Vitfor Tun.* asserts. It appears from *Cyril of Scythopolis* at the end of *S. Sabas's* Life, that he was Patriarch the 23d. Year after *S. Sabas's* Death; i. e. the 18th. or 19th. of *Justinian*, a Year and more after the end of the Fifth General Council. *Baronius* is extremely mistaken concerning these Patriarchs. He orders 'em thus: 1. *Macarius*. 2. *Eustochius*. 3. *Macarius* agen. 4. *Eustochius* agen, after the Death of *Macarius*, before the Fifth General Council.

After

After this he himself was deposed by the Emperour, and * *Macarius* was again restor'd, having clear'd himself from the Imputation of Heresy, by subscribing to the Condemnation of *Origen*, *Evagrius* and *Didymus*. The Historian *Evagrius*, where he reckons up the several Patriarchs that govern'd the Catholick Church about the end of *Justinian's* Reign, has these words: (a) *Macarius was Patriarch of Jerusalem, being restored to his Throne, after the Deposition of Eustochius, because he had Anathematized Origen, Didymus, and Evagrius.* For what reason *Eustochius* was deposed, *Evagrius* does not tell us; *Nicephorus Callisti* (b) tells us, that the Emperour deposed him, because he refused to subscribe to his Opinions (concerning the Incorruptibility of the Body of Christ. But *Theophanes* gives us another reason (c): He says it was, *because he expell'd the Monks of the Nova Laura (in Palestine) as Origenists.* What the true Reason was, is not easy to guess. As for that which *Nicephorus* assigns, it seems to be confirm'd by an Epistle of *Nicetius*, Bishop of *Trier*, to the Emperour, concerning the Heresy which he had lately embraced; in which he mentions, that the Emperour, to advance his Doctrine, had expell'd several Bishops out of their Sees. What several Bishops those should be, we know not, unless *Eustochius* might be one of 'em; for we read of but one deposed on that account, and that was *Eutychius* the Patriarch of *Constantinople*. But then, on the other side, how *Eustochius*, Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, should be deposed on that account by the Emperour, when none of the other Foreign Patriarchs were deposed, and at least a Year or two before even the Patriarch of *Constantinople* himself was deposed, I cannot easily imagine. And besides, it is likely that *Eustratius*, who lived at *Constantinople* in those times, and wrote the Life of the Patriarch *Eutychius*, who was deposed for not subscribing to the Emperour's Doctrine, would have spoken somewhere of the Patriarch of *Jerusalem* his having been deposed on the same account; especially since he mentions, that *Anastasius*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, was on that account extremely persecuted by the Emperour, and upon the brink of Deprivation. As for the Reason given by *Theophanes*; that I am sure is false. For it appears by the express Testi-

* *Victor. Tun. Chron. ad an. Justiniani 37. Eustochius Hierosolymitanus Episcopus, qui fuerat Macario superstitie ordinatus, ejicitur: & rursus Macarius reformatur.*

(a) L. 4. c. 39. Καὶ τὴν ἱερωσύμῳ Μακαρίῳ ἐπισκοπῆν αὐτῷ ἀποδοθέντῳ καὶ οὐκείῳ δεσύνῳ, ἐπὶ Διόγηνῳ, καὶ Διδύμῳ, καὶ Εὐάγριον ἀναθεματίσκει, μετὰ τὴν Εὐστοχίου καθάρσιν.

(b) L. 17. c. 29. Καὶ τῇ ἱερωσύμῳ Μακαρίῳ, αὐτῷ τῷ δεσύνῳ ἀποδοθέντῳ, μετὰ τὴν Εὐστοχίου καθάρσιν (καθεῖλε γὰρ τὸν μὲν τοῖς ἐκείνῳ δόγματι εἰκὼν αἰρέμενον) μετ' οὗ Διόγηνῳ καὶ Διδύμῳ ἀνεθεματίσκει καὶ Εὐάγριον, Ἰσνιανόν. The words which I have enclosed in a Parenthesis, the Latin Interpreter did not understand.

(c) Εὐστοχῷ δὲ ἀπλῶς εἰς ἱερωσύμῳ μισοῖ τῷ πρὸς Ἀπολινάριον, καὶ Ἀζαθῶνῳ, καὶ Μαχρίῳ, τὸς τῆς νέας λαύρας μοναχὸς ἐξέβαλλεν, ὡς Διόγηνῳ καὶ διὰ τὸ τοῦ ἐξελθῆναι καὶ πάλιν ἀπικατέστη Μαχρίῳ εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν δεσύνον. Chronogr. ad an. 3. Justin Jun.

(a) Vita S. Sabæ
ad finem: οἱ Νεο-
λαυεῖται τῆς καθο-
λικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔχει-
σαν κοινωνίας ὁ δὲ
Πατριάρχης Εὐσθάσιος

mony of (a) *Cyrillus Scythopolitanus*, that the *Neolauritans* were expell'd by the Emperour's own Command, because they refused to anathematize *Origen*, *Didymus* and *Evagrius*, according to the Decree of the Fifth General Council.

Macarius being restored upon the Ejectment of *Eustochius*, was own'd and receiv'd by all as Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, and enjoy'd the Honour till he died,

(b) *Prælo Spirit.*
c. 69. alii 96.

(c) Κοινωνῆσαι Μα-
καρίῳ διακρίνομαι·
ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν μου,
πάτερ, πῶς ὁρῶμαι ποι-
ῆσαι περὶ τῆς πορνεί-
ου; ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίθη, καὶ
τὸ μετ' αὐτὴν ὁρῶ-
μαί σου ποιήσαντες.

(d) Μὴ ἀναχωρή-
σης, μηδὲ διαλύσης
σεαυτὸν χωρῆσαι τῆς
ἐκκλησίας· ὁ δὲ
τὸ ἔχει καλὸν ᾄδει
τὸ κυρίως ἡμῶν
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ ὅ-
ν.

(e) *Ap. Surium* ad
Novemb. 23. c. 10. &c.

(f) *Cum in D. Ma-
carii Episcopi congrega-
tum venissent*, &c.

(g) *Vide c. 24, &c.*

which was four Years. *Johannes Moschus* (b) tells us of

one *Julianus*, a Monk of *Palastine*, who doubted for some time whether or no he ought to communicate with the Archbishop *Macarius*, and went to *S. Symeon Stylites* (the latter of that Name) to ask his Advice, desiring to know

(c) how he ought to carry himself towards a Brother who had committed Fornication, and towards one who by Oath had engaged himself to his Party? *S. Symeon* answer'd: (d) Do not separate thy self from the holy Church; for by the grace of our Lord *Jesus Christ* the Son of God, she is not amiss. The reason why the Monk scrupled to communicate with *Macarius*, was, because he thought him an *Origenist*: Whether it happen'd before he was depofed, or after he was restored, is uncertain: I believe it was before he was depofed.

In the (e) *Life* of *S. Gregory*, Bishop of *Agrigentum*, he is honour'd with the Title of (f) *Saint*, is said to have the Gift of Prophecy, and to have ordain'd *S. Gregory* Deacon: But this *Life*, tho' it be quoted by *Baronius*, &c. as true, is nothing but the Forgery of *Metaphrastes*, and all those Stories are notorious Lyes. For in the same *Life* it is said, that *S. Gregory* was made Bishop of *Agrigentum* after the time of the Sixth General Council, in which the Patriarchs (g) *Sergius*, *Pyrrhus*, *Paulus* and *Cyrus*, were condemn'd as *Monothelites*; which Council was call'd in the Year 681, near 120 Years after the Death of our Patriarch *Macarius*. However, from hence we may gather what opinion Posterity had of that Patriarch.

Concerning any *Schism* occasion'd by *Macarius* when he was depofed, or afterwards by *Eustochius*, not a word in any Author.

C H A P. X.

Eutychius Patriarch of Constantinople being violently deposed by the Emp. Justinian for refusing to subscribe to his Heresie, John surnamed Scholasticus is made Patriarch in his room. After John was consecrated Patriarch, Eutychius was condemned by an Assembly that consisted as well of Lay-Lords as Bishops, not only of Ecclesiasticks as the Vindicator contends. He actually lays claim to the See, despises the Sentence of his Judges as null and invalid, because they proceeded unjustly and uncanonically against him, and Excommunicates them. Notwithstanding all this, his Successor, because he prov'd Orthodox, was receiv'd and own'd by all the Church as a true Patriarch: He continu'd in the See near 13 years; near 12 years under Justin the Younger an Orthodox Emp. He is own'd by the Church of Constantinople tho' at the same time Eutychius was exceedingly belov'd. John an Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria is consecrated by him. For what reason Anastasius Patriarch of Antioch reprov'd the Patriarch of Alexandria for being ordain'd by him. Anastasius did not refuse to communicate with him. He is Honour'd by the Patriarch Photius with the Title of Saint. Tho' Eutychius lookt upon his Deprivation as absolutely invalid, and tho' he never resign'd but accounted himself still the rightful Patriarch, yet he liv'd quietly, and never endeavour'd to make a Division in the Church. Dr. Crakanthorp's Opinion, that Eutychius was deposed for being a Heretick, confuted. The Authority of the Life of Eutychius, often quoted in this Chapter, vindicated against the same Author.

IN the Year 565, *Eutychius Patriarch of Constantinople*, whom I mention'd in the foregoing Chapter, was deposed by the Emp. Justinian, and John, formerly an Advocate, afterwards a Presbyter of Antioch, whom resided at that time at Constantinople as Apocrisarius for the Church of Antioch, (the same with him whose Collection of Canons is extant in the *Bibliotheca Juris Canonici*) was advanced to the See. This Instance the Author of our *Baroccian Treatise* takes notice of. In the Reign (says he) of the Emp. Justinian, Eutychius of Amasia being constituted Patriarch of Constantinople, a Man holy and belov'd of God, was unjustly deposed, and expell'd the City, and John was preferr'd to the See. But Eutychius did not upon that account separate himself from the Communion of John, and both therefore were receiv'd by the Church.

The Collector of the Synodicon * tells us, that the Emp. call'd a Synod, and deposed Eutychius, because he refused to subscribe to the Doctrine maintain'd by that Synod, i. e. be-

* Synod. 119. Αἰ-
σετικὴν σύνοδον ποι-
ησάμενος (ὁ Βασί-
λεως) ἀπὸ πειθόμενον
καὶ Ἰωάννην Ἀποχρέα
καταθέσας αὐτὸν ἑα-
λέμενον.

αὐτῷ Εὐτυχῶν * ἀείδοντες εἰς Ἀμασίαν καταλείπειν ἑξέσιν· καὶ Ἰωάννην Ἀποχρέα
χολαστικὸν τῷ θεῷ καὶ Βυζαντινῶν ἐκκλησίας ἀντικαθίστησι, τῇ ἀσέβειᾳ συνδέμενον.

cause

cause he refus'd to subscribe to the *Herese* of the *Aphthartodoceta*, who thought our Saviour's *Humane Nature incorruptible*, which the *Emp.* and his *Synod* maintain'd. The truth is this; He was first banish'd by the *Emp.* and after his Successor was ordain'd, he was condemn'd by

a *Synod* or *Assembly*, consisting partly of Bishops, and partly of *Lay-Lords*. (a) *Evagrius* passes over this business too slightly, and only says, That he was expell'd; for what, or whether by a *Synod* or not, he does not acquaint us. That he was depos'd by the Emperor is expressly asserted by (b) *Victor Tun.* (c) *Theophanes*, (d) *Nicephorus* the Patriarch, (e) *Glycas*, (f) *Zonaras*, (g) *Cedrenus*, (h) *Nicephorus Callisti*; and so the *Emp.* (i) *Basilins* intimates; of whom not one makes any mention of a *Synod*. A particular and exact account of the whole matter we have in his *Life*, which was written by *Enstratius* (commonly, but erroneously call'd *Eustathius*) who was one of his *Presbyters*, and a constant Attendant upon him, both before, and in his Banishment. The *Life* is extant not onely in *Latin*, as the *Windsor* believ'd, but likewise in (k) *Greek*. And this is the Account he gives us. The *Emp.* (says *Enstratius*) desired him to subscribe to the *Doctrine* of the *Aphthartodoceta* (l), which when he refused to do, he was perswaded by some of his Nobles, and by certain Priests, to depose him; which accordingly he did. For on *S. Timothy's Day*, as *Eutychius* was offi-

- (a) *L. 4. c. 38.*
 (b) *Chron.*
 (c) *Chronog. p. 203.*
 (d) *Chronol.*
 (e) *Annal. p. 272.*
 (f) *Annal. l. 14. c. 9.*
 (g) *Hist. Comp.*
 (h) *Catalogo Patriarcharum MS.*
 (i) *Synaxario M. Aprilis apud Acta Sanctorum. Προσκήρυξις (Εὐτυχίου) πρὸς τὴν βασιλέα ὑποτίθεται.*

(k) *Ed. à Papébrochio ad finem tom. 1 Aprilis. Act. Sanct.*

(l) *S. 37, 38, 39:*

Μὴ συλαδένῃ τὸ αὐτὸ δεῖσθαι τῷ πλάνῳ τῷ δόγματι ὅτι Ἀρδαρτο-

δοκῶν, αὐτίκα οἱ κακῶν σοφισταί, οἱ πάντα ῥαδίως πλεμῶντες, οἱ πῖστοι ἀρχόντες, καὶ πρὸς ἐνιαυτὸν ἱερεῖς, συναχθέντες καὶ εἰσελθόντες εἰς τὸ ἀκροατήριον, ἐμελέτησαν κατὰ ματαία καὶ τὰ Κυεῖς καὶ τὰ Χεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ συναρπάσαντες τὴν Βασιλέα, πείθουσιν ἕξω μὴ ποῖσαι τὰ θεῶν καὶ πάσαις ἀρεταῖς κακοσυμμεγόν ἀνδρα, ποῖσαι τε ἄλλον ὀφείλουσα πρὸς τὸ σκοπεῖν αὐτῶν διαβιβέναι, ὅπως καὶ γέγονεν. Συναξίως δὲ ὅσης τῆς ἀγίας Τιμοθέης ἐν ταῖς Οἰκίαις, ἐν τῷ νέῳ παλατίῳ, καὶ ποῦντ' ὅτι οἱ εὐτυχίῳ τῷ θείῳ λειτουργίαν, ἐπέβησαν εἰς τὸ εὐαγέως ἐπισκοπεῖν, ὅτε γενησὶ καὶ οἱ ὑπερέταί τῶν γενησῶν, οὐκ δὲ οἱ τῶν ἀγίων θείων ὑπερέτοι, συλλαμβάνοντες καὶ σφενδύλῃ τῶν ἀγίων ἀνδρῶν ὀφείλουσα, αὐτὸς καταμαρτυρεῖται, ἵνα δεῖξωσιν μετ' εὐλόγῳ δίδεν φερασίας αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ ὡς οὖν — Μικρὸν δὲ καθευδόντας, αὐτοὺς αὐτὸ ἀπίστη μετὰ μαχαίρων καὶ ξύλων ὁ μέγας θῆς Αἰδέει, μετὰ πολλῆς βοήθειας γενομένης, καὶ λαβὼν τὸ ὅσον γυμνὸν καὶ μὴδὲν ἔχοντα ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον τὸ Χωροκώδιν ὡς λεγόμενον. Ποῖσαντ' δὲ αὐτὸς ἐκείσιν μίαν ἡμέραν, δια τὸ ἐν πολλῇ πτωχείᾳ ὑπάρχον τὸ αὐτὸ μοναστήριον, συμπαθόντας τῷ Ὅσιῳ (εἶσαι δὲ δαυμασὶν ἀνδρῶν ἀρετῶν καὶ πλεόντων) πάλιν μετέστησαν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ τῷ Ὅσιῳ ἐν Καλλιδονίῳ καὶ μὴδὲν ζητήσαντες τὰ πρὸς αὐτὸ, εἴτε ἀξίως ἔστιν ἕξω τῶν θεῶν γενέσθαι, εἴτε καὶ μὴ ποῖσαντες ἀτακτον χειροπνίαν μετὰ ὀργῆς ἡμῶν συνέδριον ἐκ φαιδας συστήσαντες Ἐπισκόπων καὶ Ἀρχόντων, ἐκάλεσαν τὸ Ὅσιον τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸ πρὸς ζητήσαντες ἐκβληθέντα καὶ κατακευδέντα, ὀφείλουσα ἀπολογησάσθαι, ὡς δὲ ἐν λιβέλλῳ καὶ αὐτὸ ἐπαρθεῖν τῷ συνέδριῳ. — Οὐ δὲ ἀγίῳ πρὸς τῶν ἀποκαλείας ἀπὸ τῶν συνέδριον Ἐπισκόπων καὶ Ἀρχόντων εἶπεν, &c.

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ciating in the Church of Hormisdas, his Palace was violently enter'd by a Captain, together with his Souldiers, who seiz'd his Servants, designing to make 'em witness something against him, that he might not seem to have been deposed without some cause. When the Patriarch understood that they had broken into his Palace and carried away and imprison'd some of his Servants, after he had made an end of Divine Service and had administer'd the Sacrament, he staid in the Chancel; for he was told by some, that if he went out of the Church it might cost him his Life, there being some arm'd Men that expected his coming forth. On this account he stood still before the Altar after he had dismiss'd the People, array'd in his proper Vestments till the third hour of the Night, still holding up his Hands to Heaven, and beseeching God to preserve the Orthodox Faith, and the Church in Tranquillity. When he had done praying, the Monks and Priests that were with him, advis'd him to eat somewhat; which when he had done and had slept a little, there came in upon him that great wild Beast Etherius, with a great company arm'd with Swords and Clubs, who took him and carried him away to a Monastery call'd Chorarudin: where after he had stay'd one day, because 'twas a miserable poor place, his Adversaries took pity on him (for even his Enemies themselves admir'd his Vertue) and order'd him to be carried to the Monastery of the Holy (Virgin) which was near Chalcedon. And without examining whether he had been justly or unjustly depos'd, they irregularly ordain'd another in his stead, and eight days after that, they appointed a Court of Judicature consisting of Bishops and Princes, who cited him, after he had been already depos'd and condemn'd without any Examination, to plead his Cause before 'em, and to answer to the Charge that was brought against him. The Accusations brought against him were these ridiculous ones (a), That he had fed deliciously upon small Birds; and that he had pray'd many hours together upon his Knees, together with others more ridiculous than these. When those Bishops and Noblemen who were sent to him from the Court of Judicature, to require him to make his appearance, came to him, To whom (says he) are ye come? What Title do you give me? They answer'd, being compell'd by Truth; that of our Lord and Father. Who, says he, is your Lord and Father? We are come, answer'd they, as it were chastis'd by some invisible Powers, to cur Patriarch the Lord Eutychius. I am (says he) a Patriarch by the Grace of God, and no Man shall take away this Dignity from me. Who is he whom you have constituted in my place? They being not able to answer to these things, return'd, as baffl'd to those that sent 'em. But the same Court (or Assembly) acting contrary to all Ca-

(a) *Οπ συκοτό-
χυλα θενθίων ἔφα-
ν, καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰς ὥ-
ρας γυμνασίας ποι-
ῶν νύχτο, καὶ ἀλ-
λα ὁμοία τέτοις κα-
ταγλαστότεσιν.

nons,

nous, sent according to the prescription of the Canons, a second and a third Citation to him. To which he answer'd: If I am to be judg'd according to the Canons, let my Clergy and my Patriarchal Dignity be restor'd me, and then I will make my Defence, and will produce for Witnesses, even my accusers themselves. The Court having receiv'd this Answer, did nothing agreeable to Reason, but pass'd such a Sentence upon him as was worthy of them. Which being done, he denounced upon all them a Sentence of Excommunication till such time as they should repent and correct what they had done. The Court have pass'd their mock Sentence upon him, that they might seem to have done justly what they did unjustly (for the same Men were both his Accusers and Judges,) they remov'd him from the place where he was, to an Island call'd the Prince's Island. Where, after he had continu'd under a Guard for three Weeks, 'twas decreed by the same Judges that he should be carried to Amasea, there to live in the Monastery which he himself had built. Which accordingly was done.

It is here expressly said, that the Court by which he was condemn'd consisted partly of Bishops, and partly of **Lay-Lords** or **Princes**. In the Greek, Συβέβαιον ἐν παλαιᾷ συννοτάμῳ Εὐνοκίῳ καὶ Ἀρχέλιῳ. In the Latin Translation, which the *Vindicator* read; *Coacto conventu Episcoporum & Principum*. Concerning these Principes, what they were, the *Vindicator* has these words: *What the Greek word was here (says he) we know not; nor therefore can we determine whether the Princes were Chorepiscopi, or Prefects of Monasteries, who by this time began to take upon 'em in Affairs relating to Ecclesiastical Cognisance, as having very considerable Ecclesiastical Bodies under 'em, who would be concluded by their Suffrages. Certainly they were Ecclesiasticks: For in the Synods of those times, tho' there were present Secular Persons to represent the Emperor, yet they never used to Vote: Onely they took care that all things should be fairly manag'd, and made their Reports to the Emperor accordingly. And indeed the Secular part of the Deprivation had already been perform'd in sending the Patriarch into Exile. Nor was it requisite by the Lex Regia (as it was call'd) in those times, that the Emperor should have any concurrence of Council for Affairs of this nature. It was therefore undoubtedly a Synod, and is own'd for such in the Greek Synodicon. And accordingly they send their Summons to Eutychius by persons of their own rank, Bishops and Princes, which was the way of Synods not of Imperial Councils. In answer to all this, least the Learned *Vindicator* should be apt to fantasie, that what he says is not confuted by the Greek Title Ἀρχέλῃς, least he should perswade himself, that by Ἀρχέλῃς here in this place may be understood Ecclesiasticks, I shall desire him to consult Dufresne's * Glossaries.*

* Græc. in Ἀρχέλῃς Lat. in Archontes. APXONTES, universim appellati Magnates & Proceres Aulæ Constantinopolitanae, &c.

From them he may be convinc'd, that by the Title of **Ἀρχόντες* not any Ecclesiasticks, but only Lay-Governours and Noblemen, or the Grantees of the Emperor's Court, are to be understood. So the Nobles were simply entitl'd, and their Ladies were call'd *Ἀρχόντισσαι*; the Order of Noblemen was call'd *Ἀρχοντοσύνη* and *Ἀρχοντική τάξις*. And Latin Historians, when they mention the Lords in Egypt descendend *ejus* (imperatoris Constantinopolitani) *Archontes*, says (a) *Guilielmus Tyrius. Romana Constantinopolitana dignitatis ἀρχόντες*, i. e. *Principes*, says (a) *Bell. Sac. l. 3. c. 18.*

(b) *Luiprandus*. A hundred Examples are produced by the Learned *Dufresne*, and a thousand more might be easily produced, if need were. I shall only advise my Reader, that in the Acts of the Councils, the Lay-Lords or Noblemen, who sat in the Councils together with the Ecclesiasticks, are wont to be distinguished from the Ecclesiasticks by this Title of **Ἀρχόντες*. In the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, not all the Nobles that sat in that Council, but onely some few of the great Officers of the Court, have the honour of that Title; and by that are distinguished as well

from the Senate, which was likewise present in that Council, as from (c) the Bishops or Ecclesiasticks. In the Second Council of Nice, the Two great Temporal Lords that sat there, are always (d) distinguish'd by the Title of *ἀρχόντες* both from Bishops, and from Prefects of Monasteries. In the Acts of the IV General Council of Constantinople, the Temporal Lords that sat there, are sometimes call'd Πατριῖκοι, sometimes Συγκλητικοί, very frequently **Ἀρχόντες* as well simply as with an Epithet, *Οἱ ἀρχόντες εἶπον, and οἱ ἐνδοξότατοι ἀρχόντες εἶπον. In *Anastasius Bibliothecarius* his (e) Latin Version: *Omnes Episcopi cum magnificentissimis Principibus conveniunt*. Photius, (says (f) *Nicetas Paphlagonius*) gather'd against *Ignatius*, the ejected Patriarch, Πάτριον συνέδριον, πάλιν ἀρχόντων καὶ ἀρχιερέων βασιλευμένα. In the Account of the Trial and Condemnation of S. Martin Bishop of Rome, translated out of Greek by *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, the Senators who were his Judges (there were no Bishops among 'em) are entitled *Principes*, from the Greek Title *ἀρχόντες*. It is said in the Greek (g) Synodicon, that certain Bishops and Monks, that were disaffected to the Patriarch *Ignatius*, got him to be deposed ἀρχοντικῇ χειρί. In which place ἀρχοντικῇ καὶ signifies the Secular Power; so appropriated to the Latte was the Title **Ἀρχόντες*. To this I add, that in the E

(c) Οἱ ἐνδοξότατοι ἀρχόντες καὶ ἡ ὑπερβολὴ συγκλητικὸς εἶπα. Act. 1. p. 97. Vide in initio singularum ἁγιονων.

(d) Συμπαρόντων καὶ ἀκροαμένων ἢ ἐνδοξοτάτων καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτων ἀρχόντων, τῆς Παναγιᾶς τῆς πανευφρέμου ἀπὸ ἱσάτων, πατριῖς, καὶ κομινῆς τῆς Θεοφύλακτος βασιλικῆς καὶ λορδεῖς τῆς στρατιωτικῆς λορδεῖς καὶ εὐλαβεστάτων Ἀρχιμανδριτῶν, ὑγμένων τε καὶ μοναχῶν. Act. 1. Sic in Actionibus sequentibus: Συμπαρόντων καὶ ἀκρ. ἢ ἐνδ. καὶ μεγ. ἀρχόντων, τῆς Παναγιᾶς καὶ ἱσάτων καὶ κομινῆς καὶ Θεοφύλακτος βασιλικῆς καὶ λορδεῖς τῆς στρατιωτικῆς λορδεῖς καὶ εὐλαβεστάτων Ἀρχιμανδριτῶν τε καὶ ὑγμένων καὶ πατρίδων τῶν μοναχικῶν πληρώματα.

(e) Act. 1. p. 98.

(f) *Vita Ignatii Patriarchae*, Tom. Conc. p. 1204.

(g) Syn. 148.

(a) P. 931. *Geor chologium* the Title *Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος* is explain'd by Πατριάρχης (a) renders it thus, *Oratio in promotione Procerum vel etiam Patriciorum*; but the word *πατριάρχης* in the Prayer which follows, shews that *ἡτοι* is not to be taken in a *disjunctive*, but in an *explanative* sense, and that by *Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος* and *Πατριάρχης* were meant the same.

This being premised, there are Three things to be observ'd concerning *Eutychius's* Deprivation.

(b) *Loco inferius cit.*

1. That the Succellor, *John*, was ordain'd and possess'd of the See, before *Eutychius* had been condemn'd by any Court of Judicature. Agreeably to this (b) *Nicephorus Callisti* tells us, that *John* was ordain'd Patriarch but three days after *Eutychius* was violently deposed by the Emperor. 2. That the Court that afterwards condemn'd him, consisted as well of *Ἐπισκόποι* as *Bishops*. 3. That he never gave up his Right, but look'd upon himself still as the *rightful Patriarch*, laid claim to the See, and excommunicated the Assembly that condemn'd him, as acting contrary to the Prescription of the Canons, and therefore *invalidly*.

Tho' such were the Circumstances of *Eutychius's* Deprivation and of *John's* Promotion, yet by all the *Orthodox*, both of that Age, and likewise of the following Ages, *John* was own'd and receiv'd as a true Patriarch of *Constantinople*.

1. He continued Patriarch not only till the Death of the Emperor *Justinian*, (which was not above three quarters of a Year after his promotion) but likewise for many Years after; and that too under an Emperor, who did not follow the Heresie of *Justinian*, but was all along a Defender of the *Orthodox* Faith. The Emperor *Justinian Junior*, says (c)

(c) *Ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ*
ἡμετέρῃ, p. 204.

(d) *L. 4. c. 1.*

(e) *Chron.*

(f) *Ap. Evag.*
L. 4. c. 14.

(g) Some Authors make the Emperor *Justin. jun.* to reign in all not above eleven years, or eleven years and eight months, but it is a mistake.

(h) A farther Account of the Baroc.
MS. p. 12.

Theophanes, was compleatly *Orthodox*. (d) *Evagrius*, (e) *Joannes Biclarientes*, and others, affirm the same; and it plainly appears by his (f) *Edict* concerning the true Faith, under that Emperor our *John* continued Patriarch of *Constantinople* during all his own Life, for the space of near (g) Twelve Years, and died *Aug. 31. A. 577.* after he had govern'd in all Twelve Years Seven Months and Two and Twenty Days. It's observ'd by one of the (b) *Answerers* of the *Baroccean Treatise*, out of *Nicephorus Callisti*, That the Emperor *Justinian* became so sensible of the injury he had done *Eutychius*, and of his right to the Chair of *Constantinople*, that upon his death Bed he order'd his Successor *Justin* to restore him. And this (says he) was presently done; for *Nicephorus*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, says, *John* sat but two Years; and *Paulus Diaconus* says *Eutychius* crown'd *Justin*. He adds, That *John* died in a very convenient time, just as *Eutychius* was to be restor'd, or else perhaps he might have been an Example on the other side, and we should have met with a Patriarch dethron'd as an Intruder: That he knows other Historians put off *John's* Death and *Eutychius's* Restoration to the Ninth or Tenth Year of *Justin*; but they are Men (he says) of little Credit, and Dr. *Crakanthorp* in his Book of the Fifth Synod p. 340. has confuted them already. So far our Author, with no less Ignorance than Assurance.

That

That *Crakanthorp* pretends to confute those Authors, is true; that he has really confuted 'em, none will affirm but such as are as little acquainted with Antiquity as our *Answerer*. 'Tis true, that *Nicephorus Callisti* relates, that the Emperor *Justinian* gave order on his Death-Bed that *Eutychius* should be restor'd: But he does not say (a), that *Justinian* order'd that *John* should be deposed that so *Eutychius* might be restor'd. *Nicephorus* understood the Emperor's meaning to be this, That *Eutychius* should be restor'd provided he outliv'd the present Possessor: For (b) afterwards he has these words: *Justin, after the Death of the Patriarch John, recalled Eutychius, as Justinian had order'd in his Will.* If we go and consult the *Arabians*, we shall meet with some that will tell us, That *Eutychius* was restor'd by *Justinian* himself. So (c) *Said Ebn Baric* in his *Arabick Annals*. But as for that Author, he plainly discovers, that he knew just nothing of the Matter: Yet even he himself allows our Patriarch *John* no less than Seven Years. When *Paulus Diaconus* says, That the Emperor *Justin* was crown'd by *Eutychius*, he (d) commits a manifest not onely Error but Blunder: For (e) *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, the Author whom he follows, says expressly, that it was *John* that crown'd the Emperor *Justin*. And so 'tis expressly affirm'd in (f) *Theophanes* his *Chronography*, out of which *Anastasius* translated his History, and (out of *Theophanes*) likewise by *Cedrenus*. But granting (you will say) that *Paulus Diaconus* errs, and that *Justin* was crown'd by *John*; yet how does it appear that *John* continued Patriarch for so many years? It appears, First, from the Testimony of *Nicephorus Callisti*, who in his MS. Catalogue (g) of the Patriarchs of *Constantinople* affirms, that *John* continued Patriarch ἔτη 18. μῆνας ζ'. 12 Years and 7 Months. And hence it plainly appears, that in *Nicephorus* the Patriarch's Chronology, it ought to be read, not ἔτη β'. but ἔτη 18. μῆνας ζ'. I need not observe that the Greek Copy of *Nicephorus*'s Chronology, out

αὐτὴ βασιλείας, χειροτονεῖται Ἰωάννης πρεσβύτερος τῆς ἐκκλησίας Ἀντιοχείας ὁ ἀπὸ χελαικῶν, μὲν γ'. ἡμέρας, καὶ ἐξετέυσεν, ἔτη 18. μῆνας ζ'.

(a) *Joannes Presbyter Antiochie*
ex numero Scholasticorum, an. 12.
m. 7.

(b) After the words above-cited, it follows; Εὐτύχιος πάλιν ἀνείσθη τῷ θρόνῳ τοῦ ἱε. ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας Ἰουίνου τῷ μικρῷ, καὶ ἑξαετούσας ἐπὶ δ'. μηνίας ε'. τελευτῶν. Ταῦτα πάντα ἔτη τῷ ἐπισκοπῇ αὐτοῦ ἔτη 15'. μηνες 1α'.

(c) P. 299. Ἰωάννης πρεσβύτερος Ἀσιοχίας, ὁ ἀπὸ χολαστῶν, ἔτη 18'. μηνίας ε'. ἔτος δὲ Ἰουίνου τοῦ (id male) Ἰουινιανῶ, καὶ ἐπὶ Τιβερίῳ.

(d) Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει μηνὶ Αὐγύστῳ 1α'. Ἰνδ. ι'. ἐτελεύτησεν Ἰωάννης ἐπίσκοπος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ad an. 12. Justinij. Anastasius Bibl. in his Latin Translation, thus; Tertio decimo imperii Justinij anno, Joanne Constantinopolitano defuncto Episcopo, Eutychius recepit iteratō thronum eundem.

(e) Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει μηνὶ Οκτωβρίῳ Ἰνδ. 1α'. Εὐτύχιος ἀπέλαβε πάλιν τῷ θρόνῳ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. So Cedrenus, who follows Theophanes; Τῷ ἱε. ἔτει (Ἰουίνου) ἐτελεύτησεν Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, τῷ 15'. ἔτει Εὐτύχιος (in ed. male Εὐτυχίος) ἀπέλαβε τῷ θρόνῳ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.

(f) Eustratius tells us that he was deposed on St. Timothy's day, which in the Greek Calendar is the 22d. of January: and in another place he says expressly, that it was (Ind. 13) but erroneously.

(g) L. 5. c. 13. Τότε ἀρχιερέας Ἰωάννης, ὃ πρότερον ἐμνήσθην. &c. At this time, according to Evagrius, the Emperor Justin spoke his famous Speech to Tiberius. Theophanes, and after him Zonaras and Cedrenus, by mistake make him speak that Speech when (as they say) he created Tiberius Emperor, three years after he had created him Caesar. On this account Evagrius seems to make John live longer than Theophanes makes him live: for Theophanes says that John died just before Tiberius was made Emperor, and that Speech was spoken. But the difference between them is only in the time when that Speech was spoken.

of which Anastasius Bibliothecarius made his Latin Translation (a), had as I have corrected it. The thing is plain of itself. In the same Chronology, it is said, by a like mistake of the Transcriber, that Eutychius was restor'd ἐπὶ Ἰουινιανῶ for ἐπὶ Ἰουίνου. Nicephorus Callisti in his (b) MS. Catalogue adds, That Eutychius was restor'd upon John's Death the 12th. Year of the Emperor Justin. Secondly, In the Catalogue of the Patriarchs of Constantinople, which is extant in Leunclavius's (c) Jus Græco-Romanum, the same time abating but one Month, is allotted him. And the same Author affirms, that he was Patriarch not onely under Justin, but likewise under Tiberius; meaning, that time in which Tiberius had the management of Affairs together with Justin, as Caesar. Thirdly, That John continued Patriarch till Aug. 31. Indict. 10. the 12th. Year of the Emperor Justin, is expressly (d) asserted by Theophanes; who adds, That Eutychius was restor'd on (e) October following. It appears from this exact account which Theophanes has given us of the time of John's Death, that he was Patriarch (as I said) 12 Years, 7 Months and 22 Days. For from (f) January 22. Indict 13. on which Eutychius was deposed, to Aug. 31. Indict. 10. on which John died, is 12 Years, 7 Months and 25 Days; and John was made Patriarch three days after Eutychius was deposed. Fourthly, Evagrius, who flourish'd in those very times, says, That (g) John was Patriarch at that time when Tiberius was created Caesar: which according to Evagrius himself was many Years after the beginning of Justin's Reign. The Chronicon Paschale assures us, it was on the Eighth Indiction, September 7, the Em-

Jan. 22. Theophanes says he was deposed Apr. 12.

peror's

peror's Eighth Year: He should have said, the Emperor's Tenth Year; for September 7. Indict. 8. falls in with the end of the Tenth Year of that Emperor. So Theophanes tells us, That Tiberius was made Caesar on the Tenth Year of the Emperor Justin. Fifthly, That Eutychius was not restor'd till after Tiberius was made Caesar, is attested likewise by the Emperor (a) Basilus, who tells us, that he was restor'd by Justin and Tiberius. Sixthly, That John was Patriarch of Constantinople at least some Years after the beginning of Justin, may be confirm'd from the Testimony of the Patriarch (b) Photius: for he mentions his acting as Patriarch on the 1st. Indiction, which was three Years after the death of Justinian. To all these I add the Testimony of Eustratius the Writer of Eutychius's Life, who tells us in express words, That our Patriarch John died a little before Eutychius was restor'd, and that Eutychius was restor'd by Justin and Tiberius, and that he continued at Amasea in Banishment above (c) Twelve Years.

(a) Synaxario A-
prilis: μετ' ἀναδεί-
ξας τὸν ἱερομόναχον
ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας
ἐκείνης.

(b) Biblioth. Cod.
75.

(c) §. 63. Μείνας
ἐν τῷ ἀσκήσει καὶ

πρὸς χρόνον ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ συστήλει μοναστηρίου.

Secondly, as it is to be presum'd, that John was generally receiv'd and acknowledged as a true Bishop of Constantinople since he sat in the Chair as long as he liv'd, for the space of Twelve Years and about Eight Months, and under an Orthodox Emperor; so particularly it appears from Eustratius, that the People of Constantinople did all in general acknowledge him, and that too, tho' at the same time they exceedingly lov'd Eutychius, and lookt upon him as unjustly deposed. Eustratius tells us, That (d) as soon as John was dead (not before) the People petition'd the Emperors Justin and Tiberius, that their old Patriarch might be restor'd. He adds concerning the Emperors, That they had a very great respect for him even whilst he was in Banishment; and that sufficiently appears from their restoring him. And here it is to be observ'd, that tho' they had a great Honour for him, and lookt upon him to be unjustly deposed, yet because John was now possessor of the See, they did not think there was any Reason why they should turn out John to restore him, they therefore staid till John was dead, and then restor'd him. How much he was below'd by all sorts of People, as well of other places as of Constantinople, and how much all rejoiced at

(d) §. 63. Μετὰ τὴν τῆς αὐτοῦ
ὁ ἱερομόναχος εἰς τὸν θρόνον τῶν πολυ-
ἀδελφῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀνδρῶν (ἐν ᾧ τότε
οἶδεν ὁ διαπνεύων ἀπορήτους ἡμῶν
αἰτίας συγχωρῶν τοιαῦτα γίνεσθαι
δύσους) καὶ τῶν φιλοχρίστων λαῶν (ἡ-
τὴν) τῶν αὐτῶν ποιμένα καὶ δι-
δάσκαλον, καὶ τὰς ἐκβοήσεις ποι-
μῆνους πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς Ἰουστινὸν καὶ
Τιβέριον καὶ πρὸς τὰ πάντα πρὸς
τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ βασιλευμένην, καὶ
κύριον καὶ κυριεύοντα Χριστὸν τὸν
ἀληθινόν Θεὸν ἡμῶν, ἀποδοθῆναι
αὐτοῖς τὸν θρόνον τῆς πίστεως, τὴν κή-
ρυκα τὴν τεύχεον, τὴν ἱεραρχίαν
τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως, καὶ πάντα τὰς
ἐκκλησίας ἵνα τὸς πλείονας κερδή-
σῃ ταῦτα παύσας οἱ ἐν εὐσεβείᾳ
τῇ μνήμῃ, ἀποδοθῶσι τῷ ἐνδε-
ον ζῶντι, καὶ τὸν θεῖον τὸν ἀγα-
θόν.

πᾶσι τῶν πιστῶν λαῶν, ὃν ἔχον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκπαλαί πᾶσι
ἐκείνων, τῶν φιλοχρίστων λαῶν ὁδοποιήσας τὴν χάριν, &c.

(a) *Leges* 71, 72, his being restor'd (a), and with how great Pomp and Splendor he was (b) receiv'd at Constantinople, *Eustratius* describes at large.

(b) §. 74. Having describ'd the pompous reception of *St. Athanasius* into *Alexandria* after his banishment, out of *Gregory Nazianzen*, he adds, Τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει, &c. *Ad hunc ergo modum etiam nunc juam in urbem regressus est magnus & admirabilis Eutychius, cum eaque celebritate, ut licet ab omni retro tempore multa multorum honorifice Excepciones factæ sint non solum Principibus sed etiam Sacerdotibus & Palatinis illustrioribus, nulla frequentior aut gloriosior fuisse memoretur, sed ipsa sola praeceat & superaverit omnes.* — *Quis dicendo posset assequi res admirandas, mari terraque tunc gestas? quomodo scilicet constratus sit pontus, tergaque sua navibus subjiciens telluri factus fuerit similis, adeo ut sine impedimento possent omnes super ipsum incedere, & nemo pra multitudine hominum aquam ab humo discerneret, utraq; autem esset labium unum, voxque divina & caelestis omnium, Domini & Creatoris sui gloriam celebrantium.*

Thirdly, It appears from the express Testimony of *Theophanes*, That *John* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, Successor to *Apollinarius*, and Predecessor to *Eulogius*, was ordain'd Patriarch by our *John* of Constantinople; and that tho' he was so ordain'd, yet he was own'd by the Church, and

(c) *Theophanes & Nicephorus Patriarcha in Chronolog.* *Said Ebn Batric*, who was Patriarch of *Alexandria* about 600 Years ago, mentions one *John* Patriarch of that See, and Successor to *Apollinarius*, whom he styles a *Manichee*, and says, that he govern'd but Three Years, and was succeeded by one *Athanasius* a *Jacobite*; But this *John* was not he of whom *Theophanes* speaks, but one of the Heretical Patriarchs of *Alexandria*. For in those days the two feveral Parties of *Alexandria*, the *Melchites* and the *Jacobites*, had two distinct Patriarchs. *Said* (d) himself mentions a little after, one *John* an *Orthodox* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, the Predecessor of *Eulogius*, who govern'd, as he says, Eleven Years, and was made Patriarch the Sixth Year of the Emperor *Justin Junior*. This is he whom *Theophanes* speaks of. (e) *Eutagrius* speaks of him, as of a Bishop acknowledged by all.

(d) *Anno imperii ejusdem (Justinii junioris) sexto constitutus est ibidem Patriarcha Johannes, Orthodoxus, qui XI. annos sedit, dein mortuus est. Annal. tom. 2.*

p. 187.

(e) *L. 5. c. 16. ὁ Ἀπολλινάριον Ἰωάννης τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας διαδέχεται τρεῖς ἔτη ὃν Εὐλόγιος.*

Fourthly, It likewise appears, that *Anastasius*, the Patriarch of *Antioch*, communicated with *John* of Constantinople, and that too, tho' he himself, had it not been prevented by *Justinian's* death, had been turn'd out of his See for defending that Truth for which *Eutychius* was deposed; and consequently must be supposed to have had a great esteem for *Eutychius*, and no great love for his Successor *John*. Concerning

(f) *Chronogr. p. 206. Τὸ δ' αὐτῷ Anastasius*, (f) *Theophanes* has these words. *ἔτι δ' ἐπισκοπῇ Ἀντιοχείας ὁ μέγας καὶ δαδάμενος ἐν τῇς ἀντιγέστοις ὅς συνεδίκαν Ἰωάννη τὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τὸν χειροτονήσαντος Ἰωάννη τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ τὸν χειροτονήσαντος, ἐξελήλυθη τῆς ἰδίας ἐπισκοπῆς καὶ ἀνανάκλητον ἔσθιν, καὶ χειροτονήθη Γρηγόριος μοναχὸς καὶ Ἀποκελεύσιος ὁ μόνος ὅς ἐυεκτήριον.*

In the Fifth Year of the Emperor Justin the Younger, the great Anastasius Bishop of Antioch, having severely reprehended John Bishop of Constantinople, who had ordain'd John Patriarch of Alexandria, and likewise the Patriarch of Alexandria himself who had been ordain'd, viz. in his Answer to the Synodical Letter, which John of Alexandria had sent him, was thrust out of his Bishoprick by the Emperor, who was angry with him for it; and Gregory a Monk was Consecrated Patriarch in his room.

Agreeably to this Relation, (a) *Joannes Diaconus* tells us, That Anastasius was banished by the Emperor Justin, because he freely reprov'd John Bishop of Constantinople. But he only follows *Theophanes*, with whose Chrono-

graphy which his great Friend *Anastasius Bibliothecarius* had turn'd into Latin, he was doubtless well acquainted.

(b) *Valesius*, and after him some other Learned Men are of Opinion, that therefore those two Patriarchs were reprov'd by *Anastasius*, because the one was put into *Eutychius's* place, and the other therefore ought not to have been ordain'd by him. This none of our Adversaries have observ'd: but I observe it for 'em; for it is not my design to shuffle, conceal, and prevaricate, but to present the Reader with a fair and impartial account of the Practice of the Antients. Now to this I answer, 1. That if *Anastasius* had absolutely refused to communicate with *John of Constantinople*, yet it cannot be prov'd that he did so because *John* was put into the place of the unjustly deposed *Eutychius*: For the reason of his refusing to own him as Bishop of Constantinople, might have been onely because he thought him not *Orthodox*. Since *Eutychius* was turn'd out because he would not subscribe to the Doctrine of the *Aphthartodocete*, it might reasonably be thought, that *John*, who was put into his place, did actually subscribe. And that he was thought by some, to be one of that Party, appears from the Author of the

(c) *Synodicon*, who says, That He comply'd with the Doctrine of those that deposed his Predecessor: And likewise from (d) *Eustratius*, who assures us, that therefore they deposed *Eutychius*, that they might put in one who would comply with 'em; and he plainly enough intimates, that *John* did so. No wonder therefore if *Anastasius*, who was the great Defender of the contrary Doctrine, and had been himself condemned by *Justinian* to be deposed on that account, was so much prejudiced against *John*, as not to like that the Patriarch of Alexandria should be ordain'd by his hands. This (I say) might have been *Anastasius's* Opinion and Prejudice. Yet it is not certain, that *John* did actually subscribe. *Eustratius* was his very great Enemy, and the Author of the *Synodicon*, might speak onely by Conjecture. At least this is certain, that if he ever subscribed, he quickly retracted, and prov'd a very *Orthodox* Patriarch. This appears, not onely from his continuing so long under an *Orthodox* Emperor, and from his being so generally receiv'd; but likewise by the *Edict* which was publish'd in the beginning of *Justin's* Reign.

That

(a) *Vita Gregorii Magni*, l. 4. c. 25. qui (*Anastatius*) *Joannem Constantinopolitanum Praesulem voce libera reprehendens Imperatoris Justinii jussu detrusus in exilium.*

(b) *Not. in Evagr.* l. 5. c. 5.

(c) *Ιωάννην τὸν δεόντως ἀντιπροσέχοντα τὴν ἀσθεῖα συνδέμενον.*

(d) *Ποῦσαι τε ἄλλον ὁφείλοντα πρὸς τὸ σκοπεῖν αὐτῷ διακινεῖσθαι ἔπος καὶ γέροντα.*

That *Edict* is not onely *Orthodox* in general, but does likewise strike particularly at the Doctrine of the *Aphthartodoce*,

(a) *L. 4. c. 4. Σάκρα ομοόσον ἡμῶν καὶ ὁμοιοπαθεῖν καὶ πάντα χωρεῖς ἀμασθίας.*

(b) *Τὸ τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν ᾧ πάσης τῇ Ἰνδικῇ συγκατετίθεντο, ὁρδοῦντος ἐκπεσανήδαι λόγους.*

(c) *Biblioth. Cod. 75. Ἀνεγνώσθη Ἰωάννης τῷ Φιλοπῶνι Σύβησι δέειον καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐνθάδε δογματιζέντων, περὶ τῆς ἀγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίου Τετάρτης, ὑπὸ τῶ ἐν ἀγίοις Ἰωάννη ἀρχιεπ. Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τῷ ἀπὸ ῥολογιακῶν ἐν τῷ κατηχητικῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ, ὃν εἶπεν ὅτι τὸ πρῶτος ὁπνεύσεως, καταλειούσης Ἰεσῆς.*

by declaring (a), That the *Body of Christ* was subject to all the *Passions* to which our *Bodies* are subject. It cannot be doubted but that the Patriarch himself was the chief Promoter of this *Edict*, and it's very probable, that he himself was the Composer of it. That (b) all subscribed to it, is attested by *Evagrius*. To this I must add, That the Patriarch (c) *Photius* mentions a *Catechetical Oration*, which our Patriarch spoke and published on the First *Indiction*, i. e. three Years after the beginning of *Justin's* Reign, in which he laid down matters of Faith *Distinctly*, as *Photius* says, concerning the *Holy Trinity*, and against which *Joannes Philoponus* the

Heretick wrote a Treatise. Secondly, If we suppose, according to *Valesius's* Conjecture, that the reason why *Anastasius* reprehended the two Patriarchs, was, because the *Ordainer* succeeded the unjustly deposed *Eutychius*; yet from the words of *Theophanes*, it cannot be infer'd, that he refus'd to communicate either with him or with the Patriarch of *Alexandria* whom he had ordain'd. On the contrary, it may be gather'd from *Theophanes's* words, that he did not refuse their *Communion*. For if he had refus'd their *Communion*, *Theophanes* would have said so; he would not have said onely, that he reprehended 'em. Besides, if *Anastasius* was deposed for reprehending *John* of *Constantinople* because put into *Eutychius's* place, from thence it may be concluded, that before that time, which was near Five Years after the Expulsion of *Eutychius*, he all along communicated with him: For if the Emperor did so highly resent his reproving *John* of *Constantinople* on that account, he would doubtless have been deposed before that time, if he had refused on that account to communicate with him. But Thirdly, It does not appear that was the Reason for which *Anastasius* reprov'd the two Patriarchs of *Constantinople* and *Alexandria*. It does not, I say, appear, that it was, as *Valesius* conjectures, because *John* of *Constantinople* by whom He of *Alexandria* was ordain'd, was put into *Eutychius's* place. There may be another Reason assign'd, more probable than that. 'Tis expressly enacted by the General Council of *Nice*, That all *Metropolitans* should be Consecrated by the Bishops of their own Province: The Ordination of a Patriarch of *Alexandria* by the Patriarch of *Constantinople* was directly against that Canon, and 'twas lookt upon by the other Patriarchs as a great Presumption in the Patriarch of *Constantinople* to pretend to ordain another Patriarch. This seems to be the thing which *Anastasius*, who was a nice observer of all Rules, so much disliked. Hereproved the one for taking so much upon him, and the other for being ordain'd in a manner not agreeable to the *Canons*. In the same manner before those times, *Simplicius*, Pope of *Rome*, had reprov'd *Acacius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, for taking upon him to Consecrate *Steven* and *Calendon*, Patriarchs of *Antioch*. That this was the true Reason, *Theophanes* himself seems to imitate, if we duly consider

sider his Words. It is to be supposed, that what was done as to that Ordination, was done by the Emperor's Order: And thence it came to pass, that the Emperor so highly resented the words of *Anastasius's* Letter, as reflecting no less upon himself, than upon the two Patriarchs, the Ordainer and the Ordained. To this may be added, That it is not probable, that the Emperor *Justin* should be so much displeas'd with *Anastasius* for reflecting on the Patriarch of *Constantinople* for his being put into *Eutychius's* place, since it was not himself, but *Justinian* that deposed *Eutychius*, and since, as *Eustratius* affirms, he had still a great Honour for *Eutychius*, tho' he did not think fit to restore him as long as *John* lived.

That *Anastasius* Patriarch of *Antioch* did not refuse to communicate with *John* of *Constantinople*, may be further confirm'd from this Consideration, That *Eustratius* in the *Life* of *Eutychius*, tho he (a) mentions, that he, as well as *Eutychius*, boldly opposed the Doctrine advanced by *Justinian* and his *Synod*, and suffer'd very much for doing so, yet speaks not a word of his refusing to communicate with *Eutychius's* Successor. And the same we may likewise gather from *Evagrius*. He speaking of the Reasons why the Emperor *Justin* deposed *Anastasius*, makes no mention at all of his being deposed for either refusing to communicate with *John* of *Constantinople*, or for any severe words spoken against him on the account of his being constituted in *Eutychius's* place; but he (b) assigns other reasons for it. And if *Anastasius* had refused to communicate with *John*, it cannot be supposed, but that *Evagrius*, who liv'd at that time, and was Assessor to *Anastasius's* Successor, would somewhere have mention'd it.

rogatus fuisset Anastasius, Cur adeo profuse Sacram pecuniam dilapidaret, disertè responderat, Ne à Justino communi peste ac pernicie generis humani diriperetur. Dicebatur autem Justinus idcirco infensus fuisse Anastasio, quod cum pecuniam ab eo ad Episcopatum promotò postularisset, Anastasius eam dare noluerat. Obijciuntur præterea eidem Anastasio alia quadam, nonnullis Imperatoris proposito ac voluntari gratificari studentibus.

Fifthly, As neither *Evagrius*, nor *Eustratius* himself, nor any other Author makes any mention of *Anastasius* his refusing to communicate with *John*; so neither is there mention any where made of any the least disturbance in the Church on his account: No mention any where of any one person that declined his Communion.

Sixthly, Tho' *Eustratius*, for his Lord, *Eutychius* his sake, was a very bitter Enemy of *John's*, and speaks in his *Life* of *Eutychius*, very virulently of him, yet he no where speaks reflectingly of any for receiving him as Bishop of *Constantinople*. His *Life* of *Eutychius* is an Oration made to the People in the great Church of *Constantinople* in praise of him: And certainly, if in those

(a) §. 41. Πάντες γὰρ οἱ Πατριάρχαι, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Ἐπισκοπῶν ἐκ ἡνέκερτο, θρασυτέρως οἱ δὲ Ἀνατολῆς, καθυπογεγράφται εἰς οὗ ἐπίπισιν ὁ Βασιλεὺς λόγον περὶ τῶ ἀφ' αὐτῶν· ἀλλ' ἔσησαν ἀνταγωνίζονται συνοδικῶς καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῶς, καὶ μάλιστα ὁ Θεοπέλειος ἐπιστάτης πατριαρχεῖας Ἀνατολῆς, ὃς καὶ ἄλλων μέτερον κινδύνων, ἢ μάλλον εἰπεῖν σφράγιων, καθὼς καὶ ὁ μέγας Εὐτυχῆς.

(b) Lib. 5. c. 5. Εὐσεβίου καὶ ὁ, &c. Porro Justinus Anastasium quoque ex Antiochenâ Sede ejecit: obijciens ei, tum quod Sacram pecuniam in superfluous ac minime necessarios usus profudisset, tum quod ipsi convitiatus esset. Nam cum interrogatus fuisset Anastasius, Cur adeo profuse Sacram pecuniam dilapidaret, disertè responderat, Ne à Justino communi peste ac pernicie generis humani diriperetur. Dicebatur autem Justinus idcirco infensus fuisse Anastasio, quod cum pecuniam ab eo ad Episcopatum promotò postularisset, Anastasius eam dare noluerat. Obijciuntur præterea eidem Anastasio alia quadam, nonnullis Imperatoris proposito ac voluntari gratificari studentibus.

days it had been accounted unlawful to acknowledge a Bishop who was put into the place of another *unjustly* and *uncanonically* depofed, he would in fome manner or other have exprefed his diflike of the Churches owning and receiving *John*. The fame we may obferve of the feveral other Authors who fpeak of *John* and *Eutychius*. There is not fo much as one that either fays exprefly or intimates, that the former ought not to have been receiv'd as Patriarch.

Seventhly, It is certain, that he was acknowledged as a true Bishop of *Conftantinople* by the Church in all following *Ages*. This appears not onely by his being fpoken of as fuch by *Evagrius*, *Theophanes*, *Nicephorus* the Patriarch, *Nicephorus Callifti*, *Zonaras*, *Cedrenus*, &c. (a) but likewife from the Testimony of the *Baroccian Treatife*, the Author of which could not but be very well acquainted with the *Diptychs* of the Church of *Conftantinople*. He affirms, *That both John and Eutychius were received by the Church*. To this I add, That (b) *Photius* the Patriarch of *Conftantinople* who flourifhed in the Year 858, calls our Patriarch *John*, *Saint John*, or *John of blessed Memory*, *Archbifhop* of *Conftantinople*. He was not onely own'd and receiv'd as a true Patriarch, but was likewife accounted a very worthy and a *holy* Patriarch.

(a) His Collection of Canons, tho' it was published when he was onely *Scholasticus*, or an *Advocate* of *Antioch*, yet in many MSS. carries with it the Title of *Patriarch* of *Conftantinople*, Ἰωάννης ἐπισκόπος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τῷ μέσῳ Εὐτυχίῳ, συναγωγῇ κατόνῳ. So a MS. in the Chancellor of France his Library. Ἰωάννης ἀρχιεπ. Κωνσταντιν. τῷ Σχολαστικῷ, MS. Oxon. Ἰωάννης ἀρχιεπ. Κωνσταντιν. τῷ ἀπὸ Σχολαστικῶν. So a MS. in the King of France's Library.

(b) *Bibl. Cod. 75. Τῷ ἐν ἀγίοις Ἰωάννι ἀρχιεπ. Κωνσταντιν.* See the whole place above-cited.

Eighthly, That there was no Schism, no Division in the Church on *Eutychius's* account, and that he himself, tho' he had never resign'd, but always lookt upon himself as the rightful Patriarch of *Conftantinople*, did nevertheless continue in Communion with the Church, I gather from hence, That when *John* was dead, the Emperors *Justin* and *Tiberius*, or the Emperor and *Cesar*, having decreed that *Eutychius* fhould be restor'd, sent Messengers away to *Amasea*, commanding 'em to bring him away to *Conftantinople* to be restored to his Dignity, whether willing or unwilling.

So *Eustratius* (c) tells us exprefly. So quietly did the good Man live in his Monastery at *Amasea*, fo far from heading a *Schism* as an *Anti-patriarch*, that the Emperors did not know, whether he was willing to be restor'd or not! And thus is confirm'd what the Author of the *Baroccian Treatise* asserts, *That Eutychius did not separate from John's Communion*.
(c) §. 70. Ως ἔν πας ἐκβοήσας τῷ φιλοχείει καὶ ἐδίεργοντο οἱ βασιλεῖς Ἰουστινὸς καὶ Τιβερίου, εὐδοῦς καὶ ἀγαχῆμα σὺν πολλῷ πῶ τήναι καὶ μετὰ ἐπελάντο τῷ ἡγιασμένῳ Σκρίβανας πρὸς τὸ ὅσιον, ἵνα καὶ μὴ βαλῇ ἐκκλῆως ἀπαχῆσαι, καὶ μὴ ἐκλόμῳ αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν βασιλίδεα, ἥν πλεον ἀγάθων.

We must not bid *Farewell* to our Patriarch *Eutychius* till we have clear'd him from a Charge and Accufation which *Dr. Crakanthorp* has laid against him.

him. The Doctor in his (a) Treatise concerning the Emperor *Justinian*, in which he endeavours to clear that Emperor from the Imputation of *Heretic* against Cardinal *Baronius*, would needs persuade us, That the Patriarch *Eutychius* was not deposed by *Justinian* because he refused to subscribe to the Doctrine of the *Aphthartodocete*, but for being an *Origenian* Heretick. That *Eutychius* had written a Book concerning the *Resurrection*, in which he contended, that our Bodies after the Resurrection will not be properly *Flesh* and *Blood*, but *Aereal* and *Impalpable*, the Doctor proves from the Testimony of Pope *Gregory the Great*, who says, That he himself disputed against him.

(a) Part of his Book concerning the Fifth general Council.

If this were the reason of *Eutychius's* being expell'd, then all that we have alleged concerning the Church's acknowledging his Successor *John*, will be of no force, because *Eutychius* was a *Heretick*, and consequently his Expulsion just, whatsoever that Authority was by which he was expell'd: I am therefore concern'd to confute this pretended Reason. And, 1. I answer, That the Book which *Eutychius* publish'd concerning the *Resurrection*, was so far from being publish'd before the time of his Expulsion, that it was not publish'd till after his Restauration. This plainly appears from what Pope *Gregory* says. He tells us, that when he resided at *Constantinople* (as Legate from Pope *Pelagius* in the Reign of the Emperor *Tiberius*) he had a great Dispute with the Patriarch *Eutychius* about that Subject, and

(b) *Tiberius* having heard the Arguments of both sides, was about to condemn the Patriarch's Book to be burnt. Which had been done, says he, had not the Patriarch died. If *Eutychius* had been expell'd by *Justinian* for that Opinion which he then maintain'd, it cannot be suppos'd but that Pope *Gregory* would have given an account of it. 2. That *Eutychius* was deposed by *Justinian* because he refused to subscribe to the Doctrine of the *Aphthartodocete*, is unanimously asserted by all the Greek Authors who have mention'd the Reason of his Deprivation, by the Author of the *Synodicon*, *Glycas*, *Zonaras*, *Theophanes*, *Joel*, *Nicephorus Callisti*, and *Eustratius* the Writer of his Life. Neither can it be supposed, that *Eustratius* assign'd a false Reason that so he might save his Reputation, and conceal his Opinions concerning the Resurrection; for had he been deposed for maintaining any *Heretical* Opinion, there was no one but must have known it, and *Eustratius* would never have been so impudent as to give a false Reason before that great Congregation to whom he spoke his Oration. Neither does he conceal

(b) *Tunc itaque de hac re in longâ contentione perducti gravissimâ à nobis capimus simulatione resiliere cum pia memoria Tiberius Constantinus Imperator secreto me & illum suscipiens, quid inter nos discordiæ versaretur agnovit, & utriusque partis allegationem pensans, eundem librum, quem de resurrectione scripserat, suis quoque allegationibus destruens, deliberavit ut flammis cremari debuisset. A quo ut egressi sumus, me agritudo valida, eundem vero Eutychium agritudo & mors protinus est secuta. Quo mortuo quia pene nullus erat qui ejus dicta sequeretur, dissimulari capta persequi, ne in favellas videretur verba jaculari. Dum tamen adhuc viveret, & ego validissimis febribus agrotarem, quicunque noti mei ad eum salutationis gratiâ pergebant, ut eorum relatione cognovi, ante eorum oculos pellem manû suar tenebat, dicens: Confiteor, quia omnes in hac carne resurgemus. Quod, sicut ipsi fatebantur, omnino prius negare consueverat. L. 14. Moral. c. 29.*

the Imputation which was by some fixt upon him concerning the *Rurrection*: After an account given of his Death, he

- (a) §. 88, 89, 90. (a) takes an accaſion to ſpeak of that Imputation, and he ſays it was occaſion'd by his being not rightly underſtood. To this I add, That it plainly appears from *Evagrius*, who liv'd and flouriſh'd at that time, that the Emperor *Juſtinian* did juſt before his death endeavour to advance the Doctrin of the *Aphthartodocete*, and publiſh'd a Decree concerning it, requiring the Biſhops to ſubſcribe to it; who generally anſwer'd, as he tells us, that they would follow the Example of *Anaſtaſius* Patriarch of *Antioch*, who (ſays he) could never be perſwaded to ſubſcribe, and had therefore been depoſed, if the Emperor had not ſuddenly died. 'Tis a weak and injudicious Plea that of *Crakanthorp*, that *Evagrius* is guilty of ſeveral Errors: For let it be granted that he is (and what Hiſtorian is not?) yet how could he erre in a thing of that nature? Since he flouriſh'd at that time, and was within a few years after *Aſſeſſor* to *Anaſtaſius's* Succeſſor, ſince he flouriſh'd at *Antioch* when *Anaſtaſius* himſelf was Patriarch: How could he be miſtaken in ſuch a thing as that? He intimates, that he had read the Speech which *Anaſtaſius* had compos'd and ſpoke to the People of *Antioch* when he underſtood that the Emperor deſign'd to baniſh him: And he tells us, that *Anaſtaſius* wrote Epiſtles concerning the Emperors Doctrin to the *Monks* of *Syria* who had deſired to know his Judgment. Among many other things that may be added, I ſhall onely mention that (as has been already obſerv'd in the foregoing Chapter) there is extant in the *Tomes*

(b) *Tom. 5. p 832.*

(c) *Patres à qui-
bus benedictionem ex-
pectare debuisti, in
exilium tranſmiſiſti.*

(b) of the *Councils* an Epiſtle from *Nicetius* Biſhop of *Trier*, to the Emperor *Juſtinian* concerning his *Lapſe*. And in that Epiſtle (c) *Nicetius* mentions, that the Emperor had for the Advance of his Erroneous Doctrin baniſh'd certain Biſhops, alluding plainly to the Patriarch *Eutychius's* Expulſion.

Dr. *Crakanthorp* finding that the *Life* of *Eutychius* made directly againſt his Opinion concerning the Emperor *Juſtinian* his never falling into Hereſie, endeavours to prove, that that *Life* was not written by one that liv'd at that time, but *forged* by ſome late Monk: and of this Opinion is one of the *Anſwerers* of the *Barocian Treatiſe*, he whole words I but now produced, convinced by *Crakanthorp's* Arguments. I need not oppoſe this Opinion, that ſo it may be proved, that *Juſtinian* fell into *Hereſie*, and that *Eutychius* was depoſed for reſuſing to ſubſcribe to that Hereſie; for theſe things I have ſufficiently demonſtrated from the concurrent Teſtimonies of other Writers. But becauſe I have produced the Authority of that *Life* for ſeveral other things which cannot be proved from other Authors, I am therefore obliged to clear the Authority of it from the Objections alleged againſt it. The chief Argument brought againſt it by *Crakanthorp* is its making *Eutychius* to continue above 12 Years in Baniſhment, whereas it appears (ſays he) from *Paulus Diaconus*, that he was reſtored juſt after *Juſtinian's* death, and that he crown'd the Emperor *Juſtin*; and from the Patriarch *Nicephorus's* *Chronology*, that he was in Baniſhment onely two Years and Seven Months. This Argument I have al-
ready

ready confuted. A Second Argument proposed by Crakanborth, is this: It is said in the *Life*; That after the Fifth General Council was summon'd, Eutychius was sent to Constantinople by the Bishop of Amasea, who was then sick, to supply his place in that Council; that a little after he came to Constantinople Mennas the Patriarch died, and so he was made Patriarch in his stead. This Relation, says Crakanborth, is so untrue, that there are not so many Words as Lyes therein: For the Fifth General Council, says he, was not summon'd till the Six and Twentieth Year of Justinian, and it appears from the Testimony of the Pope's Legates in the Third Act of the Sixth General Council, that the Patriarch Mennas died in the One and Twentieth Year of Justinian. To this I answer, That though it be true, that the Pope's Legates in the Sixth General Council affirm, That Mennas the Patriarch died on the One and Twentieth of Justinian, yet, either they were extremely mistaken, or at least the Reading is Erroneous, and for ἐν τῷ εἰκοστῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει, it ought to be read ἐν τῷ εἰκοστῷ, πμμήτῳ (or ἑκτῷ) ἔτει. That Mennas lived till after the One and Twentieth of Justinian, and till the beginning of the Fifth General Council (as the *Life* of Eutychius relates) is undoubtedly certain from many other Authorities.

1. It is manifest from an *Epistle* of Pope Vigilius to Valentinianus, a Bishop of Scythia, (a) dated XV. Kal. Apr. in the Three and Twentieth (or Four and Twentieth) Year of Justinian, which is extant in the Acts of the (b) Fifth General Council, that the Patriarch (c) Mennas was at that time living. 2. It appears from the Testimony of Theophanes, That he was living in September, the Fifteenth Indiction; and Theophanes particularly mentions (d) that at that time he and Apollinarius Patriarch of Alexandria Consecrated the Church of S. Irene, and he gives a particular description of their Procession. He just after (e) adds, That Mennas died and Eutychius succeeded him on that same Year. Now the former part of this Fifteenth In-

(a) Datum XV. Kal. Apr. imperii Domini Justiniani perpetui Augusti annis XXIII. (forte XXII. says a marginal Note) post Consulatum Basilii viri cl. anno IX. (in the Margent X.)

(b) Collat. 7. p. 557.

(c) Legant ergo quæ de causâ quæ hic mota est, ad fratrem nostrum Mennam Constantinopolitanum Episcopum scribentes legimus defuisse — Credimus enim Catholicis Ecclesie filiis ea quæ tunc ad fratrem & coepiscopum nostrum Mennam scripsimus.

(d) Τῶτῳ τῷ ἔτει μὲν Σεπτεμβρίῳ Ἰνδικτιῶν & ιε. γέγονεν τὰ ἑγκαίνια τῆς ἀγίας Εἰρήνης πύργου ἐν Σουκαῖς· καὶ ὁ ἑλληδὸν τὰ ἅμα

ἀει-λάναν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃς ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ ᾧ δὲ Πατριαρχῶν Μηνᾶ τῷ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καὶ Ἀππολινάρῳ τῷ Ἀλεξανδρείας· καὶ ἐκείτῳ ἀμφότεροι ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ ὁμίλῳ, &c. p. 193.

(e) Καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τελευταῖα Μηνᾶς ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ αὐτῷ ἰδὲ Εὐτύχιος ὁ ἀποκείσας ὁ Ἀμασίας μοναχὸς τῷ ἐν Ἀμασία κοινῇ καὶ πρεσβύτερος τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ, τῷ ἀει-λάνῳ Μηνᾶ ἔτι σκευεμένη ἐν τῷ ἱερῶσι.

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dition falls in with the Five and Twentieth Year of *Justinian*, and the latter part falls in with his Six and Twentieth Year. And to his Six and

Twentieth Year *Theophanes* places the *Fifth General Council*.

(a) In the beginning *Imperii Domini Justiniani perpetui Augusti anno 27 post consulatum Basilii, anno 12. die quarto Nonas Maias, Indictione prima*. So likewise the Emperor's Commission is dated.

(a) Acts of the Council that it began to sit in the beginning of the Seven and Twentieth Year of *Justinian*, the Fourth Day of *May*, Eight Months after the end of that Year, or *Indiction*, on which *Mennas* died. And it is to be supposed, that the *Summons* were sent about a Year or more before that time. *Thirdly*, It is positively asserted by *Evagrius*, that *Mennas* was alive when first the Council was call'd, and he particularly observes, that he died a little after, and was succeeded by *Eutychius* (b). *Vigilius* says he, being Bishop of Rome, *Mennas* first and then *Eutychius* being Bishop of Constantinople, *Apollinarius* being Bishop of Alexandria, *Domninus* of Antioch, and *Eustochius* of Jerusalem, the *Fifth Council* was call'd by *Justinian*. *Evagrius*, in what follows, gives us a particular account how (c) *Eutychius* came to be made Patriarch. It appears from him, that before the Council sat there were several Debates among those who were sent to the Council, and that in the time of those Debates *Mennas* was Patriarch. It appears likewise from that him, that before *Mennas* died there were sent to Constantinople from *Eustochius* Patriarch of Jerusalem, certain Legates to concert the Affair against the *Origenists*; and that those that were sent by *Eustochius* about that Business, were sent to the General Council, is expressly asserted by (d) *Cyrillus Scythopolitanus*. And here I observe, that all those previous Debates relating to the *Origenian* Heresie, were wont to be reckoned as part of the General Council it self. Hence it was that *Theophanes* places that Council to the Six and Twentieth, and *Cedrenus* and the *Chronicon Paschale* to the Five and Twentieth Year of *Justinian*. *Fourthly*, It is likewise asserted by the Pa-

(b) Τῆς πρεσβυτέρου μὲν ἐν Ρώμῃς ἡγούμενου Βιζυλίου τῆς δ' ἑκῆς πρεσβυτά μὲν Μηνᾶ, αὐτ' Εὐτυχίου. τ' δ' Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀπολλινάριου, καὶ τ' Ἀντιόχει Δομνίνου, Ἱερουσαλὺμων τε Εὐστοχίου, τῶν πέμψαντων μεταπέμψαι συνοδὸν Ἰουστινιανός, l. 4. c. 38.

(c) Πρώτος τοίνυν, &c. Prima igitur questione proposita, utrum liceret mortuos anathemati subijcere: *Eutychius* qui illic aderat, in sacris scripturis apprime exercitatus, superstitite adhuc *Menâ*, nondum valde illustis; erat enim etiam tum *Apo-crisiarius* *Episcopi Amasenorum*: Cum eos qui congregati erant, tanquam solertior, per contemptum adspexisset, aperte dixit, questionem illam deliberatione non egere. Quandoquidem, *Josias* Rex *Sacerdotes* demonum non modò vivos interfecisset, sed & eorum qui diuante mortui fuerant, sepulchra effodisset. Atque hoc ab *Eutychio* aptissime dictum esse, cuncti qui aderant consenserunt. Quod cum *Justinianus* intellexisset, *Eutychium* paulo post ad Pontificalem Urbis regia sedem promovit, *Menâ* ex vivis sublato. Porro *Vigilius* per litteras quidem consensit, Concilio tamen interesse noluit.

(d) Vita Saba, c. 90.

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triarch (a) *Photius*, That *Mennas* and *Eutychius* one after the other presided in the Fifth General Council, together with *Vigilius* of Rome, &c. Fifthly, That *Mennas* sat in the Chair of Constantinople Sixteen Years is asserted by (b) *Nicephorus Callisti*, and *Theophanes*, and *Zonaras*: *Nicephorus* the Patriarch adds the odd Months, and allots him Sixteen Years and Six Months: Now 'tis certain, that he was promoted on the Ninth Year of *Justinian* (in the latter part of the Year which falls in with the Year of Christ 536.) and so says *Nicephorus Callisti*.

And hence it must follow, that he died not on the One and Twentieth, but on the Five and Twentieth or Six and Twentieth of *Justinian*. Sixthly, That *Eutychius* was Patriarch not above Twelve Years and Five Months before he was deposed, is asserted by

(c) *Nicephorus Callisti*: *Theophanes* for the roundness of the number says 13 Years: The Patriarch *Nicephorus* allows him but Twelve Years, and two Months: *Zonaras* strikes off the odd Months, and allows him no more than Twelve Years: Now 'tis very notorious that he was not deposed before about the end of *Justinian's* Eight and Thirtieth Year. *Nicephorus Callisti* and *Cedrenus* say, he was deposed on the Eight and Thirtieth. *Victor Tun.* on the Nine and Thirtieth of *Justinian*: The truth is this, He

was deposed two Months before the end of *Justinian's* Eight and Thirtieth Year; for *Justinian* began his Reign April 1. *Indict.* 5. and tho' his Predecessor *Justin Sen.* did not die till the First of *August* following, yet the Years of *Justinian's* Reign were always computed from the time of his Inauguration, as the *Chronicon Paschale* observes. Now from April 1. *Indict.* 5. to Jan. 22. *Indict.* 13. on which *Eutychius* was deposed are Thirty Seven Years and near Eleven Months. From hence it follows, that he was not made Patriarch till the Six and Twentieth, or about the end of the Five and Twentieth Year of *Justinian*. The most antient Monument from whence we may gather any thing concerning the beginning of *Eutychius's* Patriarchate, is an Epistle of Pope *Vigilius* to him in answer to one of his, dated

(d) Jan. 6. in the Seven and Twentieth Year of *Justinian*.

Coltar. 1. p. 428. For 27. it ought to be read 26. For tho' the 27th. year of *Justinian* is connected with the 12th. year after the Consulship of *Basilus*, yet since the years of *Justinian* began in April, January in the 12 year after the Consulship of *Basilus* could not be in the 27th. but in the 26th. of *Justinian*. It cannot be suspected that the Error lies in the number 12. and that it ought to be read 13. for January in the 13th. year after the Consulship of *Basilus*, was after the time of the Council.

(a) *Epist. de Synodis. Ἐν (Episcoporum Concilio) ἡγέρθη καὶ ἀνελήκων Μέννας μὲν πρὶν ἀρχῆν αὐτὰ ὁ Εὐτύχιος καὶ αὐτὸς βασιλεύσας ἐν διαδοχῇ τῶν ἀρχιερέων πρὶν ἀνελήκων διατελεῖς ἔτος.*

(b) *Catal. MS. Μέννας πρεσβύτερος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καὶ ξενόδοχος ὁ Σαμῶν ἐχειροτονήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς Ρώμης Ἀγαπίου τῷ θ'. ἔτει ὁ Ἰουστιανὸς Βασιλεὺς καὶ ὀπισθοκρίσας ἔτη 15'. ἐτελεύτησεν.*

(c) *Loc. cit. Κεμένους ὁ ἔπ' τοῦ λελάνου αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ ἱεροσέλιῳ τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐχειρ. πρὸν Εὐτύχιος πρεσβύτερος καὶ μοναχὸς τῶ ἐν Ἀμασείᾳ μοναστηρίῳ ὀπισθοκρίσεν ἔτη 13'. μὲνας 6. Τότε ἐκλάνθη ὑπὸ Ἰουστιανὸς τῷ λη'. (sic quoque legendum in Catalogo apud Jus Græco-Rom. non λ.) ἔτει ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς, &c.*

(d) *VIII. Idus Januariæ anno Justiniani 27. post Consulatum Basilii anno 12. apud Aſſa Conſilii V.*

A Third Objection alleged by *Crakanthorp* against the Life of *Eutychius*, is, that it is full of improbable Fables concerning Miracles wrought by *Eutychius*; but this is no Argument at all against the *Genuineness* of it; For Stories concerning *Miracles* are common to all the Writers of *Lives*, as well of that Age, as of the following Ages, tho' otherwise very good Authors, as *Cyrillus Scythopolitanus*, and others. The profess'd Historians themselves, such as *Evagrius*, *Theodoret*, and the like, are full of such Relations. 'Twas the natural result of a Superstitious Piety. I need not mention a Fourth Argument propos'd by *Crakanthorp*; that he could not find the *Life of Eutychius* any where but in *Surius*, who he thinks ought not to be trusted. I only

(a) *Vita Eutychii Patriarchæ apud Surium ab Eustathio ejus Discipulo eleganter conscripta. Valef. ad Evagri. l. 4. c. 38.*

(b) *Bibl. Cod. 171.*

(c) *Romæ, 1655. 8°. p. 319. ad 581. Libro de Occidentalium atque Orientalium perpetua in dogmate Purgatorii Consensione.*

(d) *Hist. Lit.*

(e) Ὁ μὴς Εὐτύχιος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐμὲ πάντα τιμῶν καὶ ἐξ ὧν κεφαλῇ.

observe, that as it is generally receiv'd as genuine by the (a) Learned, so it carries with it as clear and manifest Characters of *Genuineness* as any *Life* extant. Concerning the Author of it I have this to add, That he was the same with that *Eustratius* whom (b) *Photius* entitles *Presbyter of the Great Church* (of *Constantinople*) and whose *Treatise concerning the state of the Dead*, he mentions; which *Treatise* is now extant, published by (c) *L. Allatius*. That he was the same, I gather from hence, that *Eustratius* the *Presbyter*, who wrote of the *State of the Dead*, not only discovers (as the Worthy and Learned Dr. (d) *Cave* has observed) that he lived in the time of the Patriarch *Eutychius*, but expresses likewise a singular Affection and Veneration for him. (e) *The great Eutychius Archbishop of Constantinople, that Holy and by me ever-to-be honour'd Person.*

C H A P. XI.

S. Anastasius, Senior, Patriarch of Antioch, being deposed without any Synod by the Emperor Justin, Junior, tho' he never resign'd, yet his Successor Gregory is own'd by all the Church. He continued Patriarch till his Death, for the space of 23 Years, the old Patriarch Anastasius being all the while living. Four Saints among those that lived at that time and communicated freely with him: S. Symeon Stylites, Junior, Pope Gregory the Great, S. Eulogius Patriarch of Alexandria, S. John Nestutes Patriarch of Constantinople. Pope Gregory communicates with him as Patriarch of Antioch, tho' at the same time he declares Anastasius's Deprivation to be invalid, and looks upon Anastasius to be the rightful Patriarch. S. Anastasius, tho' deposed by the Lay-power, and tho' he had never given up his Right, yet never left the Communion of the Church.

I Have mention'd in the foregoing Chapter that *Anastasius*, the Patriarch of Antioch, was deposed by the Emperour *Justin* the Younger. It was done in the fifth Year of *Justin's* Reign, in the Year of Christ 570. And that it was done barely by the Emperour's Authority, without any Synod, may easily be gather'd from the account which *Evagrius* gives of it. (a) *Justin* (says he) turn'd *Anastasius* out of the See of Antioch, objecting against him that he had profusely squander'd away the sacred Money upon things not necessary, and that he had likewise spoken reproachfully of him; that being ask'd why he was so profuse of the sacred Money, he answer'd down-right, That therefore he had done it, that it might not be took away by *Justin*, that common Plague. Now it was said, that therefore *Justin* had a spite against *Anastasius*; because when he demanded a sum of Money of him, when promoted to the Bishoprick, he refused to give it him. There were, besides the above-mention'd, some other things objected against him, by some that were willing, as we may suppose, to gratifie the Emperour in his design. The same may be gather'd from the account we have in (b) *Theophanes*. That he was thrust out of his See through the Emperor *Justin's* displeasure, because he had spoken sharply against *John*, Patriarch of Constantinople, who had ordain'd *John* Patriarch of Alexandria, and likewise against *John* of Alexandria himself. Agreeably to this, (c) *Johannes Diaconus* tells us, that he was deposed Potestatis: And Pope (d) *Gregory the Great* intimates the same thing, when he says, he was made Patriarch by God, but deposed voluntate hominum.

(a) L. 5. c. 5.

(b) Vide locum cap. præced.

(c) Vita Gregorii M. l. 4. c. 25.

(d) Epist. l. 1. Ep. 25.

Tho' such were his Deprivation, and tho' (as will by and by appear) he never gave up his Right, and tho' he was a great and admired Bishop of that Age, fo highly esteem'd and rever'd by all the Bishops of the Catholick Church, as

(a) Πάντες μὲν ἐν
ἐς Αναστάσιον τὸν Ἀν-
τιοχείας Ἐπίσκοπον,
καταδικαίον ἐπὶ πάντες.
Evag. l. 4. c. 39.

that when the Emperor *Justinian* had sent about to all Bishops, and requir'd 'em to subscribe to his new-fangled Heresie, they all unanimously replied, That *they* (a) would follow the Example of *Anastasius* of Antioch. Tho, I say, he was so great and admired a Person; yet,

1. I observe, that there is not the least mention in any Author of any disturbance in the Church occasion'd by his Deprivation.

2. It is certain, that *Gregory*, Abbot of Mount *Sinai*, who succeeded him, continued Patriarch of *Antioch* no less than 23 or 24 Years; and that too, tho' *Anastasius* was all that while living; and was never deprived, but died posses'd of the See. And after his Death *Anastasius* was agen restor'd. *Nicephorus*, the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, assigns him 24 Years; (b) *Evagrius* 23.

(b) L. 6. c. 24.

3. It appears from *Evagrius*, that *Gregory*, who accepted of his See, was a Person of extraordinary Worth: And from thence it appears, That the greatest and the worthiest Men did not think it unlawfull, or a disparagement, to accept of the See of a Bishop deposted by the Lay-power.

4. It appears likewise from *Evagrius*, That he was not onely receiv'd as Bishop of *Antioch*, but was highly beloved and honour'd. Let us hear what *Evagrius* says. After *Anastasius* (says he) *Gregory* was

(c) Μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ
περὶ τὴν ἐπισκοπικὴν
ἀρετὴν δεύοντος ἱερ-
οδότου ὁ καλὸς εὐρε-
θὲν καὶ τὴν ποίησιν.—
ὅν δὲ γνώμων καὶ ἀρε-
τὴν ψυχῆς, πάντα ἐν
πᾶσι κατέπευσε, καὶ ἐς
ὅτι ἐρημιότιον, ὑπερ-
στασιώτατος· οἱ τε
ἀπὸ τοῦ καὶ περὶ τὸ
ὑπερβαίνειν ἢ κατεπεί-
χεται δυνασίας, ἀ-
ληπτότατος. &c.

preferr'd to the Episcopal Throne, (c) whose glory, according to the Poet, is spread far and near.—He was for Understanding and Vertue, and all Accomplishments, a very extraordinary Person, and in any thing he undertook, of an unconquerable Resolution, fearless and undaunted, and never yielding (in any ill or unreasonable thing) to the Supreme Powers. So liberal and magnificent he was, that as often as he came abroad, a vast number of Persons, besides his own proper Attendants, were wont to wait on him: And as soon as any perceiv'd him, or heard that he was a coming, they immediately flock'd in to attend him. And so highly was he honour'd, that the (d) Honour which is usually paid to the Emperors themselves, was less than that which was paid to him. *Evagrius* adds much more in his praise, and tells us, That he was admir'd not onely by the Christian, but likewise by the Persian Emperors, &c. He (e) tells us likewise how by his great Authority he appeas'd a whole Army that mutinied against their Commanders. In his Speech to that Army, I am, says he, (f) by the Grace of God a Bishop, and have the power of binding and loosing

(d) Καὶ ὅν τὰς
εἰς τὴν ποταμὴν ἀε-
ρῶν, δι' ὅτις τῆς εἰς
τὸν ἀνδρᾶ πῦρ.

(e) L. 6. c. 11, 12,
13.

(f) C. 13. Τερεῖς
ἔφη καὶ ἀσχηρῶς
εἶναι, ἵκεσαν τε ἔχον, λυέν καὶ δεσμύν ἐπὶ γῆς τε καὶ θαλάσσης, καὶ τῆς θείας ἀπο-
κατασκευῆς· ἐν δὲ τῶν δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν, τὸν δὲ τῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποκατασκευῆς
το, καὶ τῶ ἀχρηστῶν αὐτοῖς μετὰ δὲ σάμα.

both in Heaven and in Earth. *Evagrius* adds, That he appeased God by Prayers and Supplications. This Action of the Patriarch *Gregory* is recorded likewise by another Historian of that Age, (a) *Theophylactus Simocates*: *Philippicus* (says he) was receiv'd by the Army, *Gregory* the then Archbishop of Antioch, having reconciled it to him.

(a) *Historia Mauricianæ*, l. 3. c. 5. Καὶ μάλιστα τὸ τῷ Ρωμαϊκῷ στρατιώτῃ.

ἔπειτα, Γρηγόριος τῷ Ἀποστόλῳ τῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ τὸ πνευματικόν ἀπέστειλε, διαλαλῶν αὐτὸν τῷ σεβασμῷ καὶ τῷ σεβασμῷ.

5. To this Patriarch our Historian *Evagrius* was himself *Assessor* or *Chancellor*. Tho' it appears by that great Character, which he gives the former Patriarch *Anastasius*, that he highly honour'd and esteem'd him; yet he readily acknowledges the present Possessor, and acts as (b) *Assessor* or *Chancellor* under him as the true Patriarch. There was no one doubted of the lawfulness of it.

(b) L. 6. c. 7. & 24

6. He was likewise acknowledg'd by *Symeon Stylites*, the latter of that name, as appears from *Evagrius*, who speaks of a (c) Prophecy which he utter'd to the Patriarch *Gregory*, and of *Gregory's* (d) going to give him a visit in his sickness, to take his leave of him before he died. How holy a Man this *Symeon Stylites* was, we may read at large in *Evagrius*: He tells us, That (e) of all Men living in that Age, he was the most holy. And by both Churches he is to this day honour'd as a Saint, by the (f) *Latin* on the third, by the (g) *Greek* on the first of September.

(c) L. 6. c. 23. "ὅς τις Γρηγόριον πρὸς ἐμὴν αὐτὸν μὲν μὴ ὄντων τὴν αὐτῶν θάνατον, τὰ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν ἀγνοῖν."

(d) Ἐν τῷ τῷ Συμεὼν τῷ ἐν ὁσίοις τῷ ὅτι θάνατον νοσῶντι, ἐμὲ τὰ

περὶ τούτου μνησθῆναι, ἐκτέλει Γρηγόριος τῶν τὰ τελευτήσαντα κατασπασμένων.

(e) Ἦν δὲ γὰρ ὁ Συμεὼν πάντων τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐξοχώτατος.

(f) *Martyrologium Rom.*

(g) *Menologium Græc.*

7. That he was generally own'd as Bishop of *Antioch* by the Bishops of the *Catholic* Church, is apparent from his being * tried * *An. 589.* as a Patriarch by a very great Council at *Constantinople*; a Council in which all the *Eastern* Patriarchs were present, either in their own Persons or by their Representatives. The Case was this: There happen'd a great Difference between him and *Asterius*, the *Comes Orientis*, who usually resided at *Antioch*; and by the influence which the *Comes* had upon the People, they were mightily excited against their Patriarch; to that degree that they maliciously accus'd him for lying with his own Sister, another man's Wife, and as a Disturber of the Peace and Quiet of the City. He appeal'd to the *Emperor* and a Council, which accordingly was call'd at *Constantinople*, where he made his Appearance, and was acquitted, and his Accuser was publicly whipt and banish'd. That this Council was a very great and a General Council, is attested by *Evagrius*, who was there present, as the Patriarch's Counsel and Advocate. He says,

(a) L. 6. c. 7. Καὶ ἡ ἐκαστὴ παλαιῶν, ἡ μὲν δὲ ἐαυτῶν, ἡ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν, τῇ ἐπιτοῇ παρανομένων, ὡς οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνης χειρὸς, καὶ πολλὰν ὁσιωτάτων Μητροπολιτῶν.

own Authority, and had usurpt the Title of *Universal Bishop*, should pretend to do so; and he declares, That the Summons being unlawfull and derogatory to the Power of the See of *Rome*, whatsoever was done in that Council should be null, and of no force.

(b) Lib. 4. Indict. 13. Ep. 36. ad Eulogium, &c.

(c) Ibid. Ante hos annos 8. f. m. decessoris mei Pelagii tempore, frater & coepiscopus noster Joannes in Constantinopolitana urbe ex causâ aliâ occasionem quarens Synodum fecit, in qua se Universalem appellare conatus est. Quod mox idem decessor meus ut agnovit, directis literis ex auctoritate S. Petri Apostoli ejusdem Synodi acta cassavit. Quarum, utz. Epistolarum sanctitatis vestre exemplaria

fudui destinare. Diaconum vero qui juxta morem pro responsis Ecclesie faciendis piissimum Dominorum vestigiis adhaerebat, cum praefato consecratorum nostro missarum solennia celebrare prohibuit.

(d) L. 7. Ep. 69. (aliis 70.) Cognoscat siquidem fraternitas vestra Joannem quondam Constantinopolitana Civitatis antistitem contra Deum, contra pacem Ecclesie, in omnium despectu & injuriâ Sacerdotum, modestiæ ac mensuræ suæ terminos excessisse, & illicitè in Synodo superbum ac pestiferum acumenicum, hoc est universalis sibi vocabulum usurpasse. Quod beata recordationis Pelagius decessor noster agnoscent, omnia gesta ejusdem Synodi, præter illa quæ illi de causâ venerandæ memoriæ Gregorii Episcopi Antiocheni sunt habita, validâ omnino districtione cassavit.

(a) That all the Patriarchs were there present at the Trial, either in their own Persons, or by their Legates, together with a great many Metropolitans and the Senators of Constantinople. When he says that all the Patriarchs were there, he means the *Oriental Patriarchs*. For there is extant in *Isidorus Mercator*, an Epistle from Pope *Pelagius II.* to the Bishops of that Council; from which it may be gather'd, That the Pope had no Legate there, for he seems very angry, that *John Nestentes*, the then Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who had call'd the Council by his

from the exprels words of Pope (b) *Gregory the Great*, that Pope *Pelagius II.* did not approve of the Synod. And that he had no Representative in it, may be collected from Pope *Gregory's* Words; for he says, (c) That, the Patriarch of Constantinople having in that Synod endeavour'd to usurp the Title of *Universal*. Pope *Pelagius*, as soon as he heard of it, sent (not to any Legate or Legates that he had sent to the Synod, but) to his Deacon, who, according to custom, resided at the Emperor's Court, as Apocrisarius for the See of *Rome*, and commanded him not to communicate with the Patriarch. But nevertheless, it is certain, that Pope *Pelagius* himself, as well as the other Patriarchs, acknowledged *Gregory* as Patriarch of *Antioch*. This appears from another Epistle of Pope *Gregory the Great* (d), in which he says, that Pope *Pelagius* did not declare all the Acts of the Synod of *Constantinople* void, but onely that part which was concerning the Title of *Universal*, which the Patriarch of *Constantinople* had usurpt; and that he ratified what had been decreed concerning *Gregory* the Patriarch of *Antioch*.

8. It is likewise very notorious, that Pope Gregory the Great himself, who succeeded Pelagius, tho' the ejected Patriarch Anastasius was his (a) *dearly beloved Friend*, and tho' he lookt upon his Deprivation as absolutely *invalid*, and accounted him always the rightfull Patriarch of Antioch, yet never separated from the Communion of his Successor Gregory, but communicated always with him. First, That Pope Gregory lookt upon Anastasius to be the rightfull Patriarch of Antioch, while Gregory was possess'd of the See, and accounted his Deprivation *invalid*, is apparent, first, from the Titles which he always gives him, of Patriarch of Antioch (b), *Gregorius, Anastasio Patriarcha Antiocheno*. 2. From his sending a (c) *Synodical Epistle* to him as well as to the rest of the Patriarchs, when first he was made Pope. 3. From his express Words to that purpose, in an (d) Epistle which he wrote him, together with the Synodical one: In which he tells him, That he had sent a Synodical Epistle to him, as well as to the other Patriarchs, as looking upon him to be still a Patriarch as well as heretofore; to be still what God Almighty had made him, not, what he was commonly accounted, deposed. Secondly, That notwithstanding all this, tho' such was his Opinion concerning the Nullity of Anastasius's Deprivation, yet that he likewise communicated with Gregory, Anastasius's Successor, and acknowledged him as Bishop of Antioch, is apparent from the Title of his Synodical Epistle: For from that it is manifest, that the Epistle was sent to Gregory, as well as to Anastasius, and the rest of the Patriarchs. The Title is this: *Gregorius Joanni Episcopo Constantinopolitano, Eulogio Alexandrino, Gregorio Antiocheno, Joanni Hierosolymitano, & Anastasio Patriarcha Antiocheno à paribus*. Tho' in order the Patriarch of Antioch was always mention'd before the Patriarch of Jerusalem, as Gregory is here plac'd; yet Anastasius he places below the Patriarch of Jerusalem, because he was a Patriarch of Antioch *de jure* onely, not in possession.

patriarcham Antiochenum qui Joannem Constantinopolitanum Praesulem voce liberâ reprehendens, Imperatoris Justinii jussu detrusus in exilium, ab ipsis Joannis Papa temporibus, usque ad sui Pontificatus tempora permanebat, mox ut summum Sacerdotium meruit, inter Patriarchas eum reputans, scriptis talibus animavit. Præterea (inquit) sicut Patriarchis aliis paribus vestris, Synodicam vobis Epistolam direxi, &c.

(a) See the several Epistles which Pope Gregory wrote to Anastasius, full of Love and Affection. *Lib. 1. Epist. 7. 25. Lib. 4. Ep. 37, &c.*

(b) Epist. 1. 1. Ep. 25. *alibique*.

(c) L. 1. Ep. 24.

(d) Epist. 25. præcit. *Præterea sicuti Patriarchis aliis vel fratribus, ita & Synodicam vobis Epistolam direxi, quia apud me semper hoc estis, quod ex omnipotentis Dei munere accepistis esse, non quod ex voluntate hominum putamini non esse. Jo. Diaconus in Vita Gregorii M. 1. 4. c. 25. Ab adversis potestatibus pręgravatos fortissimus miles Christi Gregorius viriliter defendebat, injusteque dejecto non solum inter depositos non habebat, verum etiam pristinis gradibus auctoritatis suæ privilegio reformabat. Nam Anastasium Pa-*

(a) Ad Joannem Constantinopolitanum l. 2. Indict. 13. Ep. 38. Et quidem hac de re (de nomine universalis Episcopi ab eo arrogato) sancte memoria decessoris mei Pelagii gravia ad sanctitatem vestram scripta transmissa sunt. In quibus Synodi que apud vos de Fraternis quondam & Consecratoris nostri causa congregata est propter nefandum elationis vocabulum acta dissolvit.

(b) L. 7. Ep. 69. (aliis 70.) Que Eusebio Thessalonicensi aliisque compluribus Episcopis directa est. Locum integrum vide superius productum.

(c) L. 1. Ep. 25.

(d) Of him S. Ildefonsus de vir. illustr. c. 2. speaks thus: Ita cunctorum meritum clarius perfectione sublimis, ut exclusis omnium virorum illustrium comparationibus, nihil illi simile demonstraret antiquitas: vicit enim sanctitate Antonium, eloquentia Cyprianum, sapientia Augustinum, &c.

(e) De eo vide inter alios Moschi Pratum Spirit. c. 117, 118, 119. (aliis 146, 147, 148.)

(f) Biblioth. Codd. 208, 225, 226, 227, 230, 280. Cod. 230. p. 885. Photius mentions a Synod call'd by Eulogius in the 7th Year of the Emperor Marcianus: least any one should be led into an error by that place, and fan-
sie that Eulogius was not the same with him of whom we speak, because the Emperor Marcianus was long before these times, I must here acquaint my Reader, that instead of Μαρκιανός, he ought to read Μάγελος.

In another (a) Epistle the Pope calls the Patriarch Gregory, then decess'd, his late Brother and Co-bishop: And in another (b) again, he calls him veneranda memoria Gregorium Episcopum Antiochenum. This Example of Pope Gregory his owning both Gregory and Anastasius at the same time, Non satis advertere videntur (says the learned Annotator on his Epistles (c) in the last Paris Edition) qui ad summos juris apices de re qualibet discernentes, SCHISMATIBUS & contentionibus viam parant zelo PRÆCIPITI NEC SATIS CAUTO.

'Tis worthy our Observation, that among those who communicated with, and acknowledged Gregory as Patriarch of Antioch, there were no less than four, who are honour'd by the Church as Saints. 1. Symeon Stylites. 2. Pope Gregory the Great. 3. Eulogius Patriarch of Alexandria, who was one of those Patriarchs that acquitted our Patriarch Gregory in the above-mention'd Synod of Constantinople. These three are honour'd and worshipt as Saints by both Churches, both the Greek and the Latin. Of S. Symeon Stylites I have spoken already: Of (d) S. Gregory the Great, there is no need I should say any thing, he being so generally known. Of Eulogius it is to be observ'd, That as he was a very (e) holy Man and a Saint in the Church's Calendar, so he was likewise a very learned Man, a zealous Defender of the Orthodox Faith, and a great Opposer of Hereticks, as his several learned Treatises, which (f) Photius has given us a large account of, abundantly testify. The fourth Saint is the Patriarch of Constantinople, John Nestenes, who is worshipt as a Saint by the Greek Church, and had doubtless been worshipt in the same manner by the Latins, if his styling himself Universal Bishop had not excited the Church of Rome against him, which could never endure that any Bishop should pretend to be equal to the Pope of Rome. This great Man was so far from being likely to comply for fear with what he thought unlawfull, that there was not a Man in that Age more mortified

tified to the World than he was. When he was first made Patriarch, it was utterly against his Will, as we may learn from the Epistles of Pope *Gregory the Great*. He was so given to Mortification and *Fasting*, that from thence he had his Sir-name *Νηευσίης*. He always went in a very mean Habit; and was so far from being desirous of Riches, that when he died he left behind him nothing but a wooden *Bed*, on which he was wont to lie, a *woollen Coverlet* of no value, with a poor plain *Cloak*. This account (a) Hist. l. 7. c. 6.

(a) *Theophylactus Simocattes*, a Writer of that Age, gives of him. Who adds, That after his Death the Emperor *Mauricius* took this *Bed*, *Coverlet*, and *Cloak* of his, and kept 'em as pretious Relicks, preferring 'em before things of the greatest value; and was wont in the *Lent-time*, instead of his own rich *Bed*, to make use onely of that, as believing that that would convey to him *Divine Grace*. This Patriarch (says the same (b) Author) was a Person endow'd with the highest Degree of *Divine Knowledge*, and advanced to the very height of *Vertue*, &c.

(b) Proæmio p. 36.

* Ἀγαμαι τῆς μεγαλο-
νοίας τὴν ἐξεργάσθη
ἐγὼ, ὁ πῶτος χεῖρ.

Σωμάτων ἀναβάσεως ὁπότε ἐβηκε, τὴν ὑψλὴν τῆς θεολογίας ἀκρίβειαν περικυβήμενος, ὅτι τε τὸν κολοῦνα ἦν ἀετῶν τὴν ἀποικίαν πεύμενος, &c.

Sophronius, (c) Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, mentions one *John*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, Sir-named *Cappadox*, from the Countrey where he was born, whom he calls

(c) Epist. Synodica
ap. Phot. Bibl. Cod.
231. p. 890.

(d) the *Habitation of Vertue*: Some think him to be the same with our *John Nestenes*, but in that, I think, they are mistaken; for *John Nestenes* was never Sir-nam'd *Cappadox*. He of whom *Sophronius* speaks, was the Suc-

(d) Ἀνὴρ ἀρετῆς
οἰκητήριον.

cessor of *Timotheus*, and the Predecessor of *Epiphanius*, Patriarchs of *Constantinople*; yet the great *Elogium* that he gives him, makes nevertheless for our Cause. For 'twas he that communicated with *John*, Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, who was put into the place of *Elias*, unjustly deposed by the Emperor *Anastafius*; and who himself had been (e) *Syncellus* (which before I had forgot to mention) to *Timotheus* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who was put into the place of *Macedonius* unjustly deposed by the same Emperor.

(e) Niceph. Patr.
in Chronolog.

* * See Page 134. and add that Paragraph here.

C H A P. XII.

S. Martin, Pope of Rome, being deposed without any Synod, and banish'd by the Heretical Emperor Constans, tho' he never resign'd, yet Eugenius is chosen his Successor by the Clergy of Rome, tho' at the same time they were zealous Asserters of the Orthodox Faith, and had likewise a great love for S. Martin. Eugenius is receiv'd and own'd by all as a true Pope, and has been honour'd all along by the Church as a Saint. S. Martin himself owns him as a true Pope, and prays to God for him as such.

IN the Year 642, *Pyrrhus*, the *Monothelite*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, is said to have been deposed by the *Senate* and *People of Constantinople*, being suspected to have poison'd the Emperor *Constantine*, the Son of *Heraclius*, and (a) *Paul*, (himself likewise a *Monothelite*,) being ordain'd in his stead, was receiv'd as a true Patriarch by all the *Monothelites*: But tho' it is generally said, that the Patriarch *Pyrrhus* was deposed, yet I find upon strict enquiry, that he was not actually deposed; but that being sure that he should be deposed, to avoid greater Mischiefs, he himself resign'd his Dignity. This Instance therefore I pass by.

(a) Not *Peter*, as 'tis said in the *Synodicon*, Syn. 131. He succeeded *Pyrrhus* after he was again restored.

(b) Not *Constantinus Pogonatus*, as the *Synodicon* c. 132. calls him.

In the Year 654, *S. Martin*, Pope of *Rome*, was violently deposed by the Emperor (b) *Constans*: His Crime no other, but that by a *Synod* call'd at *Rome*, he had asserted the *Orthodox Faith*, and had condemn'd the *Heresy* of the *Monothelites*, whose Cause the Emperor had espous'd: But that which they alleged against him, was, That he had enter'd into a *Confederacy* with the *Saracens*, and others of the Emperors Enemies, and had spoken somewhat (I know not what) to the dishonour of the *Virgin Mary*. That there was no *Synod* concern'd in the Matter, is very notorious. Let us hear what he himself says of the Circumstances of his Ex-

(c) *Noscere voluit cara vestra dilectio qualiter de Sede S. Petri Apostoli-raptus fuerim---Omnia praecepi per totum tempus, quae meditabatur, & summo meipsum cum omni Clero, privatim mansi*

pulsion, in his Epistle to *Theodorus Spudeus*, who had sent to him, then at *Constantinople*, about it. He tells *Theodorus* (c), That *Calliopas*, the *Hexarch* of *Ravenna*, came to *Rome* with his Army, and, together with his Souldiers, enter'd into the Church where he himself lay sick before the Altar, and there deliver'd to the Clergy, the *Presbyters* and the *Deacons*, the Emperor's Command, by which he was declar'd unworthy to govern any longer, and they were requir'd to elect a new Bishop in his stead. Then they took him by violence, and carried him away privately to a Ship, and so, after some time, to *Constantinople*. What happen'd

to

to him at *Constantinople*, and what became of him afterwards, we learn from an *Anonymous* Author, who was at the same time at *Constantinople*, and sent a particular account of all things to *Rome*, whose *Epistle* is in the *Tomes* of the *Councils* falsely ascribed to *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, who was onely the *Translator*. He tells us, that *S. Martin* was there tried by a Court of Judicature, consisting of *Senatores*, of which one *Troilus*, the *Sacellarius* (a great Officer (a) of the Emperor's Court) was President (b). By which he was condemn'd to die, for conspiring (as was

in *Ecclesiâ*—que cognominatur *Constantiniana*—Ille enim omnes nos seorsum morabamur à die Sabbati, quando *Calliopas* cum *Ravennati* exercitu, & *Theodoro Cubiculario*, introivit civitatem.—Ego verò ipse graviter infirmus eram ab

Octobrio mense usq; ad prædictum tempus, id est usq; ad sextodecimò *Kalendas Julias*—Ego itaq; ante altare *Ecclesiæ* lectulum meum habebam, in quo jacebam, & nondum transacta media hora, ecce exercitus cum eis veniens in *Ecclesiâ* obumbrati omnes tenentes lanceas & spathas suas, quin & arcus suos paratos unâ cum securis suis, & facta sunt illic quæ nec dicenda sunt.—Quibus confestim introeuntibus, jussu à *Calliopa* porrecta est *Presbyteris* & *Diaconis*, in quâ humilitatis meæ abjectio continebatur, quod irregulariter & sine lege *Episcopatum* surripuissem, & non essem in *Apostolicâ Sede* dignus institui, sed omnimodis in hanc regiam urbem (*Constantinopolim*) transmitti, subrogato in loco meo *Episcopo*, quod necdum aliquando factum est, & spero quod necdum aliquando fieri habet: quia in absentia *Pontificis Archidiaconus* & *Archipresbyter*, & *Primicerius* locum præsentant *Pontificis*—Eadem itaque horâ dedi meipsum ad exhibendum *Imperatori*, & non resistendum. Porro acclamantibus mihi (ut veritatem dicam) quibusdam ex clero ne facerem hoc, nulli eorum accommodavi aurem, ne subito fierent homicidia. Sed dixi illis: Sinite mecum venire ex Clero, qui necessarii mihi sunt, *Episcopos*, viz. *Presbyteros*, & *Diaconos*, & absolvi qui mihi videntur. Respondit *Calliopas*: Quorquot voluerint venire cum bono veniant. Nos cuiquam necessitatem non facimus. Respondi ego: Clerus in potestate meâ est. Exclamantes autem quidam ex *Sacerdotibus* dicebant: Cum ipso vivimus & cum ipso morimur. Post hæc cepit dicere per se *Calliopas*, & qui cum ipso erant: Veni nobiscum ad *Palatium*. Nec hoc facere recusavi, sed exivi cum eis in *Palatium* eadem secundâ feriâ, & tertiâ feriâ venit ad me omnis Clerus, & multi erant qui se paraverant ad navigandum mecum—Eadem ergo nocte, quæ illucescit in feriâ quartâ, quæ erat tertidecimò *Kal. Julias*, circa horam quasi sextam noctis, tulerunt me de *Palatio*, retrusis omnibus qui mecum in *Palatio* erant.—Et non nisi cum sex puerulis & uno cauculo eduxerunt nos ex urbe.—Et pervenimus *Kal. Julias Mese*nam, in quâ erat navis, id est, carcer meus, &c.

(a) *Σακελλαριος*. Dignitas *Palatina*, qui sacelli seu fisci *Imperatorii* curam habebat. See *Du Fresne's* Gloss. Græc. & Lat. Med. There was likewise an Ecclesiastical Dignitary so call'd, but the other is here meant. Neither was the Ecclesiastical *Sacellarius* ever a *Bi hop*. In the *Collatio S. Maximi Mart. cum Principibus in Secretario*, the same *Troilus* is call'd *Troilus Patricius*. So in the *Collatio S. Maximi cum Theodosio Episc. Cæsareæ*, p. Edit. *Sirmond.* 180. *Epiphanius* & *Troilus Patricii*. Agen, p. 187. Dixerant autem & *Patricii*, *Troilus*, viz. & *Epiphanius*.

(b) In ipsâ verò 93â. die (post adventum ejus ad Urbem) quæ est dies *Parasceus*, mane tulerunt eum de custodia, constituendum in cellâ *Sacellarii*, jubentes pridie convenire omnem SENATUM, quod & factum est. Jusserunt autem eum introducendum, & introduxerunt in portatoriâ sellâ: Erat enim penitus eger—Intendens autem in eum primus, qui præsidebat *Sacellarius* cum RELIQUIS PRINCIPIBUS à longe, jussit eum surgere a ferculo & stare.—Videns ergo jussus Vir intra-

omnes eos & jurantes sine parcitate testificatores, compassus perditioni animarum eorum, ait ad eos qui præsidebant PRINCIPES: Obsecro vos per Deum, nolite preparare eos jurare, sed absque sacramento dicant quaecumque volunt. vobis; facite quaecumque vultis. — Denique inter accusantes testes, ait ad eum PRÆFECTUS Troilus. — ad quem continuo dixit ipse beatus Apostolicus Papa. Dic DOMINE Troile... Surgens Sacellarius cum plurimi qui considerant ei, ingressus est nunciare Imperatori quæque ipse voluit. Eduxerunt autem S. Apostolicum virum de cellâ iudicii, magis autem ex Aulâ Caiaphæ, in gestario sedili sedentem, & statuerunt eum in medio atrii, quod erat ante cellam Sacellarii, & Imperialis Stabuli, quod consueverat omnis populus convenire, & expectare Sacellarii ingressum. — Statuerunt ergo reverendissimum virum in medio solarii dispositionis, præsentia totius SENATUS subnixum hinc & inde. Facta est ergo constipatio subito non minima, & exiens ab Imperatore Sacellarius apertis januis triclinii in solarium, dividere universum populum iussit. Veniensque ad sanctum ac venerabilem virum Martinum Apostolicum, dixit ad eum: Vide quomodo Deus te duxit, & tradidit in manus nostras. Tu nitebaris contra Imperatorem, quid tibi spei erat? Ecce dereliquisti Deum, & dereliquit te Deus. Et continuo exclamans Sacellarius quendam astantium excubitorum consorem, præcepit sine morâ auferre psalmion summum & Apostolici atque præcipui Pastoris omnium Christianorum. — Cum ergo incidisset psalmion beati viri excubitor, & corrigiam campagiorum ejus, statim tradidit eum Sacellarius Præfeto Urbis, dicens: Tolle eum, Domine Præfete, & continuo membratim incide illum. Cum hæc autem omnibus iussit astantibus anathematizare eum, quod & fecerunt. Non responderunt autem hujusmodi voci viginti virorum animæ. Sed omnes quique hoc ipsum videbant, & sciebant quia est Deus in celo conspекtor eorum quæ fiebant, dimisso vultu cum multa maiestestate recedebant erubescere, &c.

prov'd by false Witnesses) against the Government. But afterwards by the Intercession of Paul, Patriarch of Constantinople, who, tho' his Adversary and a Monothelite, could not but pity him for the extremely barbarous Usage which he met with after his Condemnation, his Life was spared. And he was banish'd to Cherso, a Town upon the Lake Meotis, where he died. The same account we have in his Life, which is extant in *Surius*: But that Life was compiled out of this *Anonymous* Epistle, and out of the Pope's own Epistles, and the Pontifical; not composed by a Writer, who lived at that time, as *Surius* imagined. Those words, from whence *Surius* gather'd, that the Author lived at that time, were injudiciously transcribed by the Compiler out of this *Anonymous* Author.

Tho' such were the Circumstances of S. Martin's Deprivation; tho' he was deposed by the Lay-power; and not onely so, but likewise by such as were Hereticks; tho' he was so much beloved by his Clergy, as that, when he was seiz'd by the Hexarch Calliopas, some of 'em advis'd him to make opposition, and others cried out that they would live and die with him; tho', besides all this, it is certain that he never resign'd, nor gave his consent that the Clergy should choose another in his room; which appears as well from the particular account which he himself gives of his being seiz'd and carried away, as from those words in his Epistle, which he wrote at least a Year and four Months after he was carried away from Rome, where he mentions that the Emperor had commanded him to be carried to Constantinople, and the Clergy to choose a new Pope: Quod necdum aliquando factum est, & spero quod necdum aliquando fieri habet:

quia

quia in absentia Pontificis Archidiaconus & Archipresbyter, & Primicerius locum presentant Pontificis: Notwithstanding all this, as soon as they understood that he was not acquitted at *Constantinople*, but condemn'd, and of consequence not like to return agen to his See, they chose another in his place, viz. *Eugenius*. As for that which *Baronius*, and his faithfull Echo, *Binius*, would needs persuade the World, That *Eugenius* was not chosen as a new Pope, but onely as *S. Martin's* Vicar; That their design was, that, tho' he acted as Pope, yet he should not be truly so till after *S. Martin's* Death, is a trifling Evasion, not grounded in the least on any Authority: And I need not mention that *S. Martin* himself speaks of him as of his Successor, not his Vicar.

How long Pope *Eugenius* govern'd before *S. Martin's* Death, may be gather'd from *S. Martin's* Epistle, but now cited, and from the *Anonymous Author*. That he was not made Pope, when first the Clergy were commanded to choose a new one; that is, when *S. Martin* was carried away from *Rome*, but after his arrival at *Constantinople*, is plain from *S. Martin's* Words, which I just now produced; and likewise from an Epistle which he wrote to *Constantinople* from *Cherso*, four Months after his arrival there, and at least two Years and three Months after he was carried from *Rome*: In which he speaks of his Successor, as if he had but very lately heard the news of his being ordain'd in his room; *Pastorem, qui eis nunc praeesse MONSTRATUR*. It appears from that particular account which *P. Martin* gives in his Epistle, that he was carried away from *Rome* the 19th. Day of *June*, and that he did not arrive at *Constantinople* till about a Year and three Months after that. We are assured by the *Anonymous Author*, that he arriv'd at *Constantinople* the 17th. of *September*; That the 93d. Day after his Arrival he was tried and condemn'd; That 85 Days after his Condemnation he was sent away towards *Cherso*, and that he died the 16th. of *September*, Indiēt. 14. (a) i. e. in the Year 656. Whether the *September*, on which he died, were the next after his arrival at *Cherso*, we cannot for certain determine. There is extant in the *Anonymous Author* an Epistle which he wrote from *Cherso* to a Friend at *Constantinople*, on the Month of *September*: But however it is probable, that he died on that same *September*, a few days after he had written that Epistle. And my Reason is, Because the *Anonymous Author*, who produces two Epistles, which he wrote from *Cherso*, within about four Months after his arrival there, says nothing more of him, but onely concerning his Death. Had he lived a Year longer, it is very likely that his Friends at *Constantinople* would have heard agen from him, and our Author would have had more to write concerning him. And that he died very soon after his arrival, appears yet more probable from his weak and sickly condition, and from the great Complaints which he makes concerning his misery and the want of subsistence at *Cherso*. From these Considerations I infer, That he was carried away from *Rome* the 19th. of *June*, 654, and lived after that two Years and three Months; That he was tried and condemn'd at *Constantinople*

(a) *Baronius's* Chronology is in this part, as in many others, very lame. He makes *S. Martin* to be carried away from *Rome* in the Year 651, to be banisht to *Cherso* (and *Eugenius* to succeed him) in the Year 652, to die in the Year 654. All which is false. *Theophanes* makes *S. Martin* to live in banishment till the 2d. Indiēt. 659, three Years too long.

the 18th. of Decemb. 655. And from hence it follows, that *Eugenius* was

(a) The Pontifical says *Eugenius* was Pope two Years and eight Months; it therefore follows, That he died about the end of the first Indiction, 658: And this agrees well enough with the beginning of Pope *Vitalianus*, for his first Epistles are dated (the Date of one of 'em is false, and the business about which he writes, was transacted) after the beginning of the 2d. Indiction. The Pontifical adds, that he was buried on the 4th. of June: He was therefore Pope not two Years and eight Months, but two Years and about five Months.

(b) *Depositus die 16. mensis Sept. & cessavit Episcopatus dies 28.*

Eugenius being constituted Pope, as he had been freely Elected by the

(c) *Fuit Eugenius (says the Pontifical) benignus, mitis, mansuetus, omnibus affabilis, & sanctitate praeclarior. Rogam Clero solitam tribuit, & indigentibus elemosynam ministravit. — Hujus temporibus Petrus Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus direxit Synodicam Epistolam ad Sedem Apostolicam juxta consuetudinem priorum (Pyrrhi & Pauli) & ultra regulam, non autem declarans Operationes aut voluntates in Domino nostro in Jesu Christo. Et accensus Populus, vel Clerus, eo quod talem Synodicam direxisset, minime susceperunt eam, sed cum majore strepitu est à sancta Dei Ecclesia projecta: Ut etiam nec eundem Papam dimitteret Populus vel Clerus missas celebrare in basilica sanctae Dei Genitricis, semperque Virginis Mariae, quae appellatur ad praesepe, nisi promississet his ipse Pontifex, minime eam aliquando suscipere.*

(d) *Paul*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, died a little after *S. Martin's* Condemnation, as appears from the *Anonymous Account*: To him succeeded *Pyrrhus*, who liv'd not full five Months, and died the *Whitsontide* before *S. Martin*; then *Peter* presently succeeded. *Nicephorus Callisti* in *Catal. Manuscripto*. Πύρρος & πάλιν ἀποκαθίσταται & ἐπισκόπος μὴνας δ' ἡμέρας καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἀγίας πεντηκοστῆς, &c.

That

That Pope *Eugenius* was acknowledged by the Bishops of the *Roman District*, is apparent, as from the thing itself; so likewise from hence, That tho' he govern'd in all but a very little while, not above two Years and eight Months, yet there were 21 or 22 Bishops ordain'd by him; as we are assur'd by the Author of the *Pontifical*. Neither is there mention in any Author of any the least Disturbance in the Church on his account.

He was not onely own'd as a *true Pope*, but was likewise after his Death honour'd by the Church as a *Saint*; and so he has been all along to this day. By the Author of the *Pontifical* he is said to be *sanctitate præclarior*; and in the *(a) Roman Martyrology* were read: *Roma sancti Eugenii Papæ & Confessoris*. A *Saint* is deposed, and a *Saint* accepts of his place!

It is here to be observ'd, that many of the *Greek Writers*, who were not well acquainted with the Affairs of the *Latins*, make not *Eugenius*, but Pope *Agatho* to succeed *S. Martin*; tho' not onely *Eugenius*, but *Vitalianus* likewise, and *Aleodatus* came in between *S. Martin* and *Agatho*: But 'tis likewise to be observ'd, that tho' they knew that *P. Martin* was unjustly deposed, yet they speak of *P. Agatho*, whom they took to be his *Successor*, as of a *true Pope* and an excellent Man. *S. Martin*, says *(b)* *Theophanes*, being banish'd, *Agatho* is ordain'd Pope of *Rome*; who being moved with zeal towards God, call'd a holy Synod, and condemn'd the Heresy of the Monothelites. The Author of the *Synodicon*: *(c)* *Martin*, the most holy Pope of *Rome*, was banish'd to *Cherso*---*Agatho*, the most blessed Pope of *Rome*, who was advanc'd to *Martin's Throne*, gather'd a holy Synod, &c.

(a) *Ad 2. Junii.*

(b) *Chron. p. 276.*

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἔξοδον (τῆς αἰῆς) Μαρτίνου Ἀγαθοῦ χειροτονεῖται πάπας Ρώμης, ὅς τις κινηθεὶς ζήλῳ Θεοῦ, Σύνοδον ἔβηεν ἐν αὐτῷ συναθροίσας, &c.

(c) *Syn. 132, 133.*

Μαρτίνῳ & ὁ ἀγνῶτα.

ἸϞ πάπας Ρώμης---ὃν βασιλεὺς---ἀρπάσας πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον μὴ πολλὰς τιμωρίας, ἐν χειρὶν ἔδωκεν---Ἀγάθῳ δὲ ὁ παρόλβις πάπας Ρώμης, τὸν δεῖνον Μαρτίνου διαδέξμενος, αἰῶνα συνήδευσε σύνοδον. *Isaac Catholicus Inveſt. 1.* in *Armen.* ad finem: Μαρτίνῳ δὲ ὁ ἰσάγγελος πάπας Ρώμης.---μεθ' ὃν & Ἀγάθῳ ὁ ἀγνῶτα πάπας Ρώμης, &c. It is scarce to be doubted but that he likewise took *Agatho* to be *S. Martin's* immediate Successor.

In the last place I add, That *S. Martin* himself was so far from abhorring the Communion of his Successor *Eugenius*, that he owns him as a *true Pope*, and prays for him. *May God* (says that good Man in his last Epistle which he wrote from *(d) Cherso*) who wills that all Men should be saved, and come to the knowledge of the Truth, establish the hearts of the People of *Rome* in the Orthodox Faith, through the Intercessions of *S. Peter*, and confirm 'em against all Hereticks and Adversaries of the Church, and make 'em immovable, especially the Pastor, who *(I hear)* presides now over 'em.

(d) *Veruntamen Deus, qui omnes vult salvos fieri, & ad agnitionem veritatis venire, per intercessionem S. Petri stabilizat corda eorum in orthodoxâ fide, & confirmet contra omnem hæreticum & adversarium Ecclesiæ nostræ personam, & immobiles custodiat,*

præcipue Pastorem qui eis nunc præesse monstratur.

It appears from what has been observ'd concerning P. Gregory his looking upon *Anastasius* to be still the rightful Patriarch of *Antioch*, his giving him the Title of *Patriarch*; and his sending him his *Synodical Letters*, That *Anastasius*, after his Expulsion, had never given up his Right or resign'd. And yet it appears, that *Anastasius*, the great *Anastasius*, he to whom all the Bishops of the East paid so great a Deference, never separated from the Communion of the Church, but continued to communicate

peaceably with it. This appears from an (a) Epistle of P. Gregory, to *Sebastian*, Bishop of *Risnum*; in which the Pope says, That he had written a Petition to the Emperor (*Mauricius*) to desire that *Anastasius*, if he might not be restored to his See, yet at least might be permitted to come to *Rome*, and officiate there with him as a Bishop. The same he says in an (b) Epistle to *Anastasius* himself.

(a) L. 1. Ep. 27. *Præterea indico suggestionem me apud piissimos Dominos summis precibus plenam fecisse, ut virum beatissimum Dominum Anastasium Patriarcham concessio usu pallii ad B. Petri Apostolorum principis limina onectum celebraturum solennia missarum transmittere debuisset, quatenus si ei ad sedem suam minimè reverti liceret, saltem mecum in honore suo viveret. Sed quæ causa contigerit ut eadem scripta retinerem, præsentium lator vobis innotescet. Eiusdem tamen Domini Anastasii animum cognoscite, & quicquid ei de hac re placuerit, vestris mihi Epistolis indicate.*

(b) Ep. 7. *Præterea indico quia à serenissimis Dominis quantis valui precibus postulavi: Ut vos honore restituto (intellige usum pallii, non Sedem) ad S. Petri Apostolorum principis limina venire, & quousque ita Deo placuerit, hic mecum vivere concedant: Quatenus dum vos videre meruero, peregrinationis nostræ tadium de aternâ patriâ invicem loquendo releverimus.*

* * This Paragraph should have been placed at the End of the Eleventh Chapter, at Page 127.

C H A P. XIII.

Callinicus Patriarch of Constantinople being deposed without any Synod by the Emperor Justinianus Rhinotmetus, his Successor Cyrus is receiv'd as a true Patriarch. §. 1. So likewise is Nicetas who was put into the place of the Patriarch Constantine deposed without any Synod by the Emperor Constantinus Copronymus. §. 2.

THE Emperor Justinian surnam'd *Rhinotmetus*, having commanded the General of his Army to slaughter the People of *Constantinople*, and to begin with the Patriarch *Callinicus*, the Patriarch was advised by *Leontius*, and other great Men, to endeavour to have the Emperor deposed, and to excite the people against him by crying out: *This is the day which the Lord hath made.* He accordingly did so, and the people accordingly took the Emperor and cut off his Nose, and banish'd him to *Cherso*, and made *Leontius* Emperor. After three Years *Leontius* was deposed by *Apsimar*, and he, after Seven Years, was deposed by the ejected Emperor Justinian. Justinian being restored (this happen'd in the Year 703.) commanded *Leontius* and *Apsimar* to be put to death, and the Patriarch (a) *Callinicus* he deprived of his Sight and banish'd him to Rome, and made one *Cyrus* a Recluse of *Amastris*, who had foretold of his being to be restor'd, Patriarch in his stead. So *Theophanes*. *Glycas* thus: Justinian put *Apsimar*, together with *Leontius* to Death; (b) and *Callinicus* the Patriarch, because he had oppos'd him in some Designs of his against the Church, he deprived of his Sight, and banish'd him to Rome, and promoted *Cyrus* (in the Greek *Cyriacus*) a Recluse of *Amastris*, in his stead; because he had prophesied to him of his Restoration. That *Callinicus* was deposed and banish'd without any Synod, may be easily gather'd from the thing it self. For doubtless the enraged and revengeful Emperor dealt with him as he did with the rest, and did what he did in a Fury. In a word (adds *Glycas* (c), just after the words produced) he murder'd all like so many Sheep, for he was all in a fury. That he was deposed and banish'd by the Emperor, is aserted likewise by *Zonaras*, *Cedrenus*, *Nice-*

(a) Καὶ τὸς ἀ-
πεσῆλας ἐν τῷ Κυ-
νηῷ ἀπικατόλι-
σιν· Καλλίνικον δὲ
πατείδεζεν τυφλώ-
σας ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ
ἐξώσειεν· καὶ αὐτ'
αὐτῷ Κύρον ἐν τῇ νή-
σῳ Ἀμασει ἐγκατε-
σεν ὄντα, ὡς περσι-
μάναντα αὐτῷ τὴν
τὴν δευτέραν βασιλείαν
ἀποκατάσσειν σεβ-
βάλετο. Theophil.
P. 313.

(b) Τὸν δὲ πα-
τείδεζεν Καλλί-
νικον, ἐπειδήτις ἀνέστη
προλαβὼν αὐτῷ περ-
σώμενον ἐκκλησίαν
χαλάσαι, τυφλώσας.

ἐξώσειεν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, καὶ αὐτ' αὐτῷ σεβάλλεται Κυριακὸν (Κύρον) τὸ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ
Ἀμασειδὶ ἐγκατεσεν ὄντα. Περιήργησε γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν τὴν δευτέραν βασιλείαν ἀποκατάσσειν.

(c) Καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, δίκην βοσκηνμάτων πάντας ἀπέκτεινε, μαινόμενος γὰρ
ἦν.

(a) Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ φησὶν (a) the Patriarch, Joel and Constantinus Manasses; Καλλίνικον αἰχμαστὴν who tells us, that before he was deprived of his Sight and ὃν ἡλευθέρουν τὸ αἶμα banish'd (b), he was expos'd to the Boys as a laughing-stock, to be abus'd by them. ἡμετέροις αὐτοῦ τοῦτο τὸ βασιλεὺς, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἑστέροις ὅτι ἐκεῖνον μωρολογεῖν, &c.

(b. Hist. Breviario, p. 28.

Callinicus being thus depose'd and banish'd, the new Patriarch Cyrus was readily own'd as a true Patriarch by all. Concerning any disturbance in the Church occasion'd by Callinicus's Lay-Deprivation, not a single word in any Author. This Instance the Author of the *Baroccian Treatise* takes notice of, who observes, not only that Cyrus was receiv'd by the Church, but likewise that Callinicus never separated from the Church's, and Cyrus's Communion; by which he means, That there was not any Schism headed by Callinicus as an *Anti-patriarch*. And the silence of all Authors in general, does sufficiently confirm what he says. The Emperor Justinian (says he) *Sir-nam'd Rhinotmetrus, coming the second time to the Throne, depose'd and banish'd unjustly the most holy Patriarch Callinicus and placed Cyrus a Recluse of Amastris in the See. Now observe, That Callinicus did not separate himself from the Church and from Cyrus, upon the account of his unjust Deprivation; and that Cyrus, together with those he had ordain'd, were receiv'd by the Church.* 'Tis a vain thing for our Adversaries to allege, that therefore, probably Callinicus did not think fit to insist upon his Right, because, by being guilty of Treason he had forfeited his Life: For whether Callinicus did insist upon his Right or not, the Church did not care. As soon as he was banish'd, and Cyrus was constituted in his place, they immediately submitted to the present Possessor. Who can ever believe, that the Church of Constantinople sent to Rome, to know what the old Patriarch's Pleasure was?

(c) Theophanes, Nicephorus Patr. Nicephorus Callisti Catal. MS.

easily guess at. The Emperor Philippicus as soon as he came to the Throne,

(d) Zonaras, Annal. l. 14. c. 26. Theophanes, p. 319, 320. Notia Marginalis MS. ad Nicephori Cal. Catalogum MS.

(e) Hist. Brev. p. 31.

(c) Six years the Patriarch Cyrus enjoy'd the Dignity. After that time, there being another Revolution in the State, Justinian being kill'd and Philippicus advanced to the Imperial Throne, he was depose'd by the new Emperor. What the reason was is not said; but that we may easily guess at. The Emperor Philippicus as soon as he came to the Throne, call'd an Heretical Synod, and condemn'd the Sixth General Council, and prefer'd one John a (d) Monothelite to the Patriarchal Chair: It is therefore likely, that the Patriarch Cyrus was therefore depose'd because he refused to comply with the Emperor in that Design. The Patriarch (e) Nicephorus intimates, that Cyrus was turn'd out and John made Patriarch before the meeting of that Synod.

§. 2. After John succeeded Germanus, who was forc'd by the Emperor Leo Isaurus to resign his Bishoprick, because he refused to condemn the Worship of Images. After this time the Church of Constantinople were for many years Iconoclasts,

to the Church of Rome Hereticks, to us Orthodox. Anastasius succeeded Germanus, and after his death Constantine was advanced to the Patriarchal Throne by the Emperor Constantius Copronymus. The Patriarch Constantine, after Twelve Years Government, viz. in the Year 766. was deposed by the same Emperor. The occasion and the manner is thus described by Theophanes, (a) On the Thirtieth day of August (says he) the Fourth Indiction, the Emperor raged with a great fury against his Name-sake the Patriarch, and having found out certain Monks, Clergymen, and Laicks who were the Patriarch's intimate Friends, he got 'em to allege against him, that they had heard him speak against him to Podomagulus (or Podopagurus, a great Man, whom the Emperor had just before put to death as accused of conspiring against him) and sent 'em to the Patriarch's Palace, there to witness it to his Face; and the Patriarch denying it, he made 'em swear by the Holy Cross, that they had heard the Patriarch speak thus and thus reproachfully of him; and sent some to seal up the Gate of his Palace, and took him and banish'd him to Hieria, and after that to the Prince's Island. Theophanes (b) adds, That on the Sixteenth of November following, the Emperor made Nicetas, an Eunuch, Patriarch in Constantine's room. He further adds, That on the 16th of (c) October next after that, he sent for Constantine from the Prince's Island, and having so scourg'd him as that he was not able to stand, he commanded him to be carried into the Great Church, and all the People of the City being gather'd together, there was a Libel read publicly, containing the Heads of all the Accusations that were brought against him; and at the reading of every Accusation, the Secretary, who read it, and stood by him, struck him on the Face; (d) the Patriarch Nicetas sitting there in his Throne by him, and seeing all that was done. Then they went up into the Pulpit, and the Patriarch Nicetas took the Libel, and commanded some Bishops to take away his Patriarchal Cope from him, and anathematiz'd him. So giving him the nick-name of Scotiopsis they made him go out of the Church backward. After this Relation Theophanes gives an account of his being put to death, and how very inhumanely and barbarously they used him. It appears from this exact and particular account, that Constantine was never Synodically tried and condemned, and that Nicetas was made Patriarch before he was condemn'd in the great Church; and that when

(a) Τῇ 30ῃ ᾠ. τῷ αὐτῷ Αυγύστῳ μηνὸς τ' αὐτῆς Ἰνδικτιῶν & ἑμὲν ὁ δουράντων & τῶ συνωνύμῳ αὐτῷ & σύμφρονῳ Πατριάρχῃ· & εὗραν πῶς μοναχὸς τε κληρικὸς & λαϊκὸς μύσας αὐτὸ φίλος παρεσκευάσαν ἐπὶ αὐτὸς· ὅτι ἠκούσαμεν τὸ Πατριάρχῃ λαλῶν· ὡς τὸ Ποδوماγύλῳ κατὰ τὸ βασιλέως, καὶ ἀπέσειλεν αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ Πατριαρχείῳ, ἵνα ἐλέγξωσιν αὐτὸν· ἐν 3ῳ τῷ ἐκείνῳ ἀρρεσθῆαι ἐπέτισεν αὐτὸς δοῦσαι εἰς τὰ πύμα ξύλα· ὅτι ἐν τῷ Πατριαρχῇ ἠκούσαμεν τὰς λοιδορίας ταύτας· ἐν τούτοις ἔν ἀποσεύλας ἐβέλωσιν τὸ Πατριαρχεῖον· & τὸ πν ἔξωσεν ἐν τῇ Ἱερῇ, & πάλιν ἐν τῇ Πειργήνῳ.

(b) P. 370. Τῇ 15ῃ. Νομβερίῳ μηνὸς τ' πεντηκῆς Ἰνδικλ. &c.

(c) P. 371. Μηνὶ Οκτωβ. 5ῃ. Ἰνδικ. 5ῃ.

(d) Τὸ Πατριαρχῇ Νικήτῃ ἐν τῷ συνθρόνῳ καθέζομένῳ & ὀρών· ὡς 3 τὸ ἀναβιβάζοις ἐν τῷ ἄμβωνι, & σήσαντες ὄρθον, ἔλαβεν Νικήτας τὸ χρίσμα, & ἀποσεύλας ἐπισκόπος, & λαβὼν τὸ ἀμώρεον αὐτὸ ἀνεδιμάσεν αὐτὸν, &c.

he was there condemn'd and deposed or degraded, he was deposed or degraded by *Nicetas* himself, who had been put into his place. It likewise appears that he had never given up his Right, since he still wore his Patriarchal Cope, and was there deprived of it. *Nicephorus the Patriarch*

(a) gives the same account of the Matter, tho' not so particularly. *The Emperor* (says he) *suborn'd some of the Patriarch Constantine's Acquaintance to depose upon Oath, that they had heard him speak of the Conspiracy of Antiochus and Theophylactus.* (They had been condemn'd together with *Podopagurus.*) *And immediately sent him away as a banish'd Man to Hieria (an Imperial Palace in Asia over against Constantinople) and created Nicetas the Presbyter of the Church of the Apostles, an Eunuch, Patriarch.* All these things were done in the Month of August Indiēt. 4. Not long after he sent for Constantine and commanded him to be carried to the Church; and together with him he sent one of his own Secretaries with Accusations against him, which the Secretary read before all the people there gather'd together, striking him on the Cheek at the reading of every Accusation. And then they went up into the Pulpit and deposed him, the new Patriarch reading the Accusations at the Altar. To the same purpose

(a) *Zonaras.*

τὸ ἅγιον ἀποστόλων ἐκκλησίας εὐνῶντες ἀρχειρίζει ἀρχιερεῖα· ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἐπεγράψατο καὶ ὁ Αὐγυστος μὴνα τὸ τετάρτης Ἰνδικιῶν Θ. Μετ' ἑὸ πολὺ δὲ μελαμπέσαι Κωνσταντῖνον, καὶ ἀποσέλλει πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν φορέω ἐποχόμενον· συνεκτίμῃσι δὲ τίνα αὐτῷ τῷ ἁγίῳ βασιλικῶν γραμματείῳ κομίζοντα ἐν γραμματεῖᾳ ὅσα κατ' αὐτὸν· ὅπερ εἰς ὑπόκειον τῷ Ἀδριανῶντος ἐκείσιν λαβὼν ἀνέγνω, παύων αὐτῶν καὶ κόρης ἐφ' ἐνὶ ἑαυτῷ ὁ καὶ κληρονομήσας· καὶ ἕτως ὅτι τῷ ἀμεινῶτος ἀνεβήκαυτες καθάρισσιν· τὸ νῦν παρ' ἐκείνου πρὸς τῷ πρῶτῳ ἀσπασθῆναι τὰ τοιαῦτα ἰτιάματα πασαναζινώσκοντος, &c.

(b) *L. 15. p. 111.*

Tho' such were the Circumstances of *Nicetas's* Promotion, yet of any disturbance in the Church occasion'd by it, not a Syllable in any Author. He was readily own'd by all the Orthodox, i. e. the Iconoclasts; and govern'd no less than Fourteen Years, as appears from *Theophanes* and

(c) *Catal. MS. Nicephorus (c) Callisti.* The Patriarch *Nicephorus* in his *Chronology* allows him Fifteen Years. If you find him call'd by any Author a *Pseudo-Patriarch*, or the like; it is onely by such, as, being themselves the Worshippers of *Images*, accounted him, (so likewise his Predecessor himself) a *Heretick*, and on that account no true Patriarch.

C H A P. XIV.

An Account of the Schism between Photius and Ignatius, Patriarchs of Constantinople. Photius who was put into Ignatius's place when deposed by the Emperor, no such Person as his Enemies report him. By how great a Party he was receiv'd. The reason why some refused to acknowledge him was not so much, because he was so constituted, as because he was a Neophytus, and was besides ordain'd by a Bishop Excommunicated, and (in their Judgments) stood himself Excommunicated at that time. Ignatius professes, that if Photius had been one of the Church, i. e. if he had not been an Excommunicated Person at the time of his Consecration, he would willingly have yielded to him. Ignatius values the Councils that condemn'd him no more than he did the Lay-power. The Vindicator in an Error concerning that Matter. His Errors concerning the Council call'd the First and Second. A New account of the reason of that Title. His Error concerning the Greatness of the Synod of Rome, call'd by P. Nicholas against Photius. Photius after he was receiv'd by the Church, and confirm'd by a general Council, is deposed by the bare Authority of the Emperor Leo; yet his Successor Stephen is receiv'd by the Church.

IT appears from what has been said in the foregoing Chapters, that the Doctrine which we maintain, is grounded on the *earliest* Antiquity, and confirm'd by the Practice of the Church, in the first 400 Years after the Emperors became *Christian*. *We are now fallen into the Dregs of time* (says one of our * *Answerers*, speaking of the Seventh, and the following Centuries) *years of Superstition, Idolatry, Dotage, and Disorder; and therefore tho' the Instances produced out of this Age were truly reported, and pertinent to the Purpose, they would not be fit Examples for us to follow.* Had our Author known that the Ages, of which he gives this Character, were the Ages that afford his Party their most considerable (in themselves inconsiderable) Precedents, we should not (I suppose) have found him so ingenuous in his Confession, and free of his Characters, *We are now fallen into the Dregs of time*: 'Tis true, and no wonder if the Spirit of Antiquity was so far lost, as that some few Instances may be found in these times agreeable to the practice of our Adversaries. But this is confes'd by them themselves, that the Examples of these lower Ages, that do not agree with the Practice of the former, are not fit Examples for us to follow.

In the Year 858. there broke out a Schism at Constantinople, between Ignatius deposed, and Photius, who was constituted in his place. That the Reader may have a full and perfect view of all this Concern; I will first present him

* Further account of the Baroccian MS. p. 12.

with a short *Historical*, and *Chronological* Account of the chief Transactions. Secondly, I will shew what manner of Man *Photius* was, who accepted of *Ignatius's* See, that he was a vertuous and pious Man. Thirdly, I will shew by how great and numerous a Party he was receiv'd. Fourthly, That they that separated from him, did not look upon him to be otherwise unexceptionable, but separated from him for several Reasons. From whence it appears that the Case is quite different from ours, and no Example for our Adversaries.

In the Year but now mention'd, *Ignatius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, Son to a former Emperor, *Michael Rangabe*, was deposed by the Emperor *Michael*, Sirnam'd the *Drunkard*, because he refused to take the Emperors *Sisters* and his *Mother*, and make 'em *Nuns* by force, as the Emperor had commanded him. This was the immediate Reason : but he that excited the Emperor against him was *Bardas* the Emperor's Uncle, whom the Patriarch had a little before Ex-

(a) *Nicetas* *Photius* in *vita ejus* p. 1229.

(b) *Nicetas* *loc. cit.* p. 1200.

(c) *Theognostus* in *Libello Ignatii nomine scripto ad Nicolaum* P. I. p. 1268.

(d) *Theognostus* *ib.* This first Deprivation by *Photius* is mention'd likewise by *Metrophanes* *Metropolitae Smyrnae*, *Epist. ad Manuelem Patricium*.

(e) *Nicetas*, p. 1212.

(f) *Nicetas*, who, says he, had govern'd full eleven Years when first deposed, adds, p. 1205. That when he was condemn'd by that *Synod*, he had been Patriarch very near twelve Years. *P. Nicholas I. Ep. 1. & Ep. ad Episcopos & Clerum prov. Constantinop. ap. Acta Concilii VIII. aet. 7. p. 1067.* says, he had been Patriarch 12 Years.

(g) In February, for the Pope's Letters sent by those Legates are dated September 25. *Indict. 9. i. e. A. D. 860.* and the Legates were at *Constantinople* 100 days before the Council sat, as appears from an Epistle of Pope *Nicholas* to *Photius* *ap. Conc. VIII. p. 1034.* *Metrophanes* Bishop of *Smyrna*, *Epig. ad Manuelem Patricium*, says, they were at *Constantinople* eight Months before the sitting of the Council ; but that could not be. The Pope's Epistle which he wrote from *Constantinople*, to signify his dislike of what had been decreed, is dated *Mar. 19. Ind. 9. i. e. A. D. 861.* Coun-

communicated for living incestuously with his own Son's Wife. *Ignatius* being thus deposed (a) November 23. the famous *Photius*, chief Secretary of State, was on *Christmas-Day* ordain'd Patriarch in his stead. (b) Two Months, or to speak exactly, (c) forty days after that, *Ignatius* began to be persecuted, and was (d) Deposed and Anathematiz'd by his Successor *Photius*, whilst absent at the Island *Terebinthus* ; to which he had been banish'd. He was suspected to have conspired against the Emperor, and on that account suffer'd very hard things, but nothing could be made out against him. From *Terebinthus* he was removed to *Hiera*, from thence to *Numeras* ; and, on the Month of (e) *August*, after his Ejectment, to the Isle *Mitylene*, still suffering great Afflictions, and Indignities. Between this time and (f) *November* following, he was again Deposed and Anathematiz'd, while absent, by a Provincial *Synod*, which *Photius* had call'd. After this the Emperor, and the Patriarch *Photius* send to *Rome* to Pope *Nicholas*, to desire him to send some Legates to *Constantinople* to consult against the *Iconoclasts*, intending by the concurrence of those Legates, when they should be sent, to ratify what had been done against *Ignatius*. The Pope receives his Letters, and refuses to own him as the true Patriarch of *Constantinople*, till by his Legates he had had a hearing of the whole Cause. He sends his Legates, *Radoaldus* and *Zacharias*, both Bishops, to *Constantinople*, and there in the beginning of the Year (g) 861. by a general

Council of no less than 318 Bishops, just the number of the Council of *Nice*; *Ignatius* is again Condemn'd, Deposed, and Anathematiz'd. The Crime alleged against him was (a), That he had been made Patriarch by the Emperor's bare Authority, without the Suffrages of the Clergy: and this was attested upon Oath by (b) 72 Witnesses, of whom there were some of the Order of *Senators*. He appeals from the Council to the Pope, and about Six months after, he sends away privately one of his Friends, by name *Theognostus*, to the Pope, to give him an Account of what had been done, and to beg his assistance: who resided at *Rome* (c), as his Legate or Agent, all the time of his Deprivation. The Pope before this had had an Account of the whole Matter: his Legates return from *Constantinople* with a Copy of the Acts of the Council: he refuses to ratifie what they had done, alleging that he had commanded, that nothing should be decreed concerning *Ignatius*, till they had given him a particular Account, and receiv'd his Orders. He sends away speedily to the Emperor and *Photius*, to let 'em know, that he did not give his Consent to what had been done: requires that *Photius* should be deposed, and *Ignatius* restored: and because he was not obey'd, in the Year (d) 863. he calls a Synod at *Rome* by which he deposes *Photius*, declares him a mere Lay-man, and withal Excommunicated if ever he should pretend for the future to Act as Patriarch, so as never to be capable of Absolution (e), except at the point of Death: The same Synod Excommunicates likewise the (f) Emperor himself, together with all the Senate, if they refused to receive *Ignatius*, and to reject *Photius*. It likewise declares the Orders of all those whom *Photius* had ordain'd, void. In the same Synod, *Zacharias*, one of the Legates, was Deposed and Excommunicated, because he had concurr'd in the Deprivation of *Ignatius*: and because the other Legate *Radoaldus* was not there present, there was afterwards (g) another Synod call'd at *Rome* on his Account, in which as well as the former he refused to make his appearance; but by this he was Deposed and Anathematized as his Collegue had been in the former. In the Year (h) 865. the Emperor sends his *Holliness* a very contemptfull and opprobrious Letter, which provoked him to that Degree, that the next Year after he sends an Epistle to *Constantinople*, directed to the Bi-

(a) So *Nicetas*; but p. 1228, he mentions 52 Heads of Accusations brought against him.

(b) In the Ninth Session of the Eighth Council, they own that they were perjured, and that they were put upon it by the Emperor and *Bardas*.

(c) *Hadriani P. II. Epist. ad Imp. Basil. & Ignatium ap. Conc. VIII. p. 1085. Szylianus Episc. Nicaej. Ep. ad Steph. P. p. 1401. Theognostus* was at *Rome* seven Years, ending in *August*, 868.

(d) *Indist. XI. ut patet ex Conc. VIII. act. 7. p. 1097. Anastasius Bibl. Praef. ad Conc. 8.*

(e) *Decreta Synodi Romanae ap. Epistolam Nicolai P. act. Conc. VIII. p. 1172.*

(f) *Nicetas V. Ignatii.*

(g) *Nic. P. Ep. ad Episcopos & Clerum Constantinopolit. ap. Conc. VIII. act. 7. p. 1070. Anastasius Bibl. Vita Nicolai P. I.*

(h) *Præterito anno, per Indist. viz. 13, &c. ait P. Nic. in Ep. pract. p. 1080.*

shops

shops and Clergy of that District, in which he requires that the Emperor should make him satisfaction by burning his Epistle. In the same Epistle he exhorts 'em all to receive *Ignatius* as their Patriarch, and sends 'em the *Decrees* of his *Roman Synod*. In the latter end of the same Year, viz. on the *Ides of November* 866. he sends about many Epistles; to *Photius* himself, to the *Cesar Bardas*, to the Empreses *Theodora*, and *Eudoxia* (and to the *Senate of Constantinople*) and he likewise sends to the Emperor, exhorting him to send *Ignatius*, and *Photius* both to *Rome*, that he might sit Judge of their Cause. But so far are all these efforts from prevailing, that as *Photius* had been deposed by him; so he pays him in his own Measures, and the Emperor by his persuasions calls a *General Council* at *Constantinople*; which Condemns, Deposes, and Anathematizes the Pope for certain Crimes charged upon him. This Council sate about (a) *Midsummer* 867. 'Twas this, I suppose, that broke Pope *Nicholas's* heart; for he died presently after. On *September* 24. the same Year, the Emperor *Michael* was kill'd by *Basilus Macedo*, who the next day after deposed the Patriarch *Photius*, and on the 23. of *Novem.* following restored *Ignatius* to his See, after a Deprivation of Nine years. Having done thus he summoned a *General Council*, and sends away to *Rome* to Pope *Nicholas*, to give him an Account of what he had done. That Pope being dead, his Successor *Hadrian II.* receives the Emperor's Letter: he calls a (b) *Synod* at *Rome*, confirms the *Decrees* of Pope *Nicholas's* *Synod* against *Photius*, and condemns the Acts of the late *Constantinopolitan Council*, by which his Predecessor was deposed to be burnt by the common Hangman; and sends his Legates to *Constantinople*, by whom he requires, that not a Copy of that Council should be preserv'd, not an (c) *Isa* under pain of Excommunication, but all be burnt in the Presence of the *General Council*. Two (d) years before the Arrival of his Legates at *Constantinople*, the Bishops were there gathered together: at last they came, and the Council began to sit *Octob. 5.* 869. It breaks up on the last of *Febr.* following, and issues out this Decree against *Photius*: That (e) he

(a) That it could not be before *Whitsunday* 866. appears from hence, That *Basilus*, who subscribed to it as *Cesar*, was not made *Cesar* before that time. And that it could not be before after *November* 866, may be gathered from the several Epistles which Pope *Nicholas* wrote to *Constantinople* on that Month, in which he makes no mention of any such design against him. That it was before *September* 867, is apparent from hence, That the Emperor *Michael* was kill'd in that Month. That it was a little before his death appears from hence, that the Messengers who were carrying the Acts of that Council into the West, were overtook and brought back to *Constantinople* by other Messengers sent after 'em by the new Emperor *Basilus*, as *Nicetas Paphlago* tells us. I said that *Basilus* was made *Cesar* on *Whitsunday* 866, for tho' *Nicetas* seems to intimate, that it was, on *Whitsunday*, before *Michael* was kill'd; yet he does not expressly say so; but 'tis expressly asserted by *Leo Gramm.* and *Joel*, that *Basilus* reign'd with *Michael* one Year and four Months; and *Zonaras* says, he reign'd with him a Year.

(b) It appears by the Subscriptions *ap. Acta Concilii VIII. p. 1095.* that he had not above thirty Bishops in it.

(c) *Ep. ad Imp. Basilium & Anastasius Bibl. Præf. Conc. VIII.*

(d) As appears by the Acts of the Council p. 985. D. and by *Joannes Bibliothecarius Continuat. Pontificalis in Hadriano II.*

(e) *Can. 4.*

never

never was, nor is now a Bishop; that all his Ordinations are absolutely Null, and that those Churches which he, or they whom he had ordain'd, had consecrated, should be consecrated again: In fine, they heap upon him a thousand *Anathema's*. This is the Council, which the Church of Rome calls the 8th. General Council. In the Year 877. October 23. the Patriarch *Ignatius* (a) dies, after he had been Patriarch the Second time, Ten years wanting a Month. (b) Three days after his Death *Photius* is again restor'd, by the same Emperor that had deposted him, tho' by the late Council he had been declar'd no Bishop, and *Anathematiz'd*; and tho' he were declared incapable of being (c) ever restor'd by any means whatever. Being thus restored, he is generally own'd, and even by the Pope of Rome himself, Pope John the Successor of *Hadrian*; and confirm'd by a General Council call'd at *Constantinople* of 373 Bishops, which began to sit in the beginning (d) of November 879. After the Expiration of Nine years, from the time of his Restitution, he was again deposted by the Emperor *Leo*.

(a) *Natus annos 80.*

(b) *Nicetas V. Ignatii.*

(c) *Nusquam per ullum modum vel tempus accepturus locum satisfactionis* Definitio Thomæ Episcopi Tyri in Concilio act. 1. p. 993. à toto Concilio rata, p. 994.

(d) *Actio secunda fuit Nov. 7. Ind. 13. ut patet ex Actis.*

Secondly, That the Patriarch *Photius*, who accepted of the See when *Ignatius* had been so unjustly deposted by the Lay-power, was a very great Man for his Parts, and his Learning, the most learned Person of his Age, and Equal to the Ancients themselves, is contest by even his (e) greatest Adversaries. That he was likewise a very pious and religious Man, they will easily be satisfied, who lay all things together in the Balance, and weigh impartially those things that may be said for him, against those things which his Enemies have alleged against him. It is true, that the *Ignatians* heretofore, such as *Nicetas Paphlago*, whose Life of *Ignatius* is nothing but an angry and malicious *Invective* against *Photius*, have endeavoured to make him appear under a very horrid Shape; and the Church of Rome, because he so manfully opposed, and even deposted their Pope, is willing to believe whatever his Enemies have said to his Disparagement. But 'tis easie to discover, that all that his Enemies allege, is rather the result of their malice, than any wise probable. 'Tis confessed by the learned *Vindicator*, that we have *Photius's Cause* convey'd to us with no small disadvantage: His Adversaries (says he) at that very time suppress'd his principal Writings on that Subject; they seiz'd and burnt his Original Papers, before any Copies could be transcribed; they have afterwards had it in their Power to suppress many of his other Works, whilst the Empire of *Constantinople* was in the hands of Latins, or Latinizing Greeks; and they have since had it in their Power, to hinder the Printing of as many of them as have not fallen into the hands of Protestants. This no doubt, must needs have proved very prejudicial to a right understanding of his Cause, that we have very few assistances for understanding it, but from his profess'd and very inveterate Enemies. We are told by *Nicetas*, that when *Photius* was deposted by the Emperor *Basilus*, there was

(e) *Nicetas V. Ignatii.*

(a) Ἐπὶ δὲ σάκκους πλῆρεις ἐσ-
φραγισμένους, ὡς ἱεροφ., p. 1225.

(b) Amongst them were two Vo-
lumes containing the Acts of his
two General Councils, that against
Ignatius and that against Pope *Ni-
cholas*; which were burnt with the
rest, together with two other Co-
pies of the same Councils which
Photius had sent into the *West*, and
the Emperor *Basilus* had recall'd,
by sending some that overtook the
Messengers.

(c) P. 1228. Εἰ μὴ ἔαρον τῶς
αὐτῶν οἰκτίεις διζῶν ἀμωσύνης ἐπὶ-
ψευδομένους αὐτῷ.

(d) Ep. 3. p. 67. Καὶ πλάθον-
ται λόγοι, καὶ ὁ καθ' ἡμῶν τι και-
νότερον διπλοῦν, ἔτι δὲ ὁ νεωχὴς καὶ
δολοῦντι.

(e) Ep. 8. ad Bardam, Καὶ τὸ βα-
ρύτατον, ὅτι ἀδικα πάροιντες ἀδικεῖν
ἐγκαλέμεθα, καὶ δὲ λυγρὰ πᾶσιν γε-
γόμεθα, ὅφ' ὃν αὐτοὶ πολλὰ καὶ
ἐκείνην καταμένοντες χάρις ἐν πάν-
των ἐνεκα τῷ Σωτῆρι ἡμῶν Θεῷ, &c.

(f) Hæc Epistola (says Bishop
Montague in his Notes upon it)
ut præcedentes ad Bardam scrip-
ta, Photium, impium, improbum,
& hypocritam non representant, quod
calumniatur *Baronius*, sed verè pium,
& divine providentiæ se submitten-
tem.

(g) P. John, Epist. ad Basil. Imp. ap.
Conc. juxta Græcos 8. in Pandect.
Bevereg. to. 2. p. 276. says he was
forced likewise when he was re-
stored; Εἰ καὶ ἡ ὑμετέρεα εὐσεβία
τὴν ἀνδρα βιάσαμην.

(h) As the Pope mentions in an
Epistle of his.

yet it cannot be supposed, that he would ever have wrote so to *Bardas*, if it had
not been really so, since *Bardas* was the Person that prefer'd him, and very well
knew whether that which he said was true or not. Neither did his unwill-
ingness to be made *Ignatius's* Successor, proceed from this Consideration, that
Ignatius was deposed by the *Lay-power*, but from the Sense he had of the height

was taken from him (a) *Seven Bags full of*
(b) *Writings*, which his Servants had endea-
voured to hide and secure: all which were
publickly burnt by that Council, by which he
was a little after Condemn'd. Had not such
Tricks as these been made use of, things
would have been placed in another manner
of *Light*: But still there is extant enough to
convince any disinterested Man, that *Photius*
had no such *Black* within him, as his Enemies
have laid upon him. That he was accounted
by his Followers a very holy Man, may be ga-
ther'd from his Enemy (c) *Nicetas*; and
from others of his Enemies it appears, that
before he was made Patriarch he was account-
ed a Person of a strict and virtuous Life. He
complains in one of his (d) *Epistles* to *Bar-
das*, of the *Lyes* invented against him. What-
soever was inflicted on the Patriarch *Ignatius*,
all that *Nicetas*, and others deceiv'd by him,
impute to our Patriarch *Photius*: but 'tis easie
to discover, that what he says is all *Conje-
cture* and *Malice*; and *Photius* himself com-
plain'd in another (e) *Epistle*, that when he
himself suffer'd unjustly, he was accused of
injuring others: and this, he says, extremely
afflicted him. But (f) *thanks* (says he) for all
things to God our Saviour, &c. It's alleged by
his Enemy *Nicetas*, that he was very *Ambi-
tious*, and that through Ambition he catch'd
at *Ignatius's* Dignity greedily and impudently:
But hear him himself; he assures us, that he
was not willing to be made Patriarch (g) at
all, but was quite drawn, as it were, and forced
to it. This he affirm'd not only in an *Epi-
stle* to (h) Pope *Nicholas*, but also in another
to *Bardas*. And tho' it might be suspected,
that in writing to the Pope, he might make
use of a *Nolo Episcopari*, for mere *Form*, as even
the most ambitious Bishops are wont to do:

of the Station. His Words are these (a). *I knew even before I had experience of it, that I was unworthy of the Patriarchal Dignity, and of the Pastoral Care; and on that account, when I was driven and drawn on to it, it went extremely against me. And would to God I had died before I yielded to the intolerable Violence of those that compell'd me to it.* He adds, That therefore he was the more unwilling, because his Mind misgave him, that he should meet with great Troubles. (b) *I was therefore (says he) extremely afflicted by their Importunities: I wept, entreated 'em, and would have done any thing to have got my self excused.* 'Tis objected besides by the malicious *Nicetas*, that whilst he was Patriarch he made it his business to colloque unworthily with the Persons in Authority, that he might not be deprived of his Bishoprick. But this likewise appears to be a malicious Calumny. Let any one read his 13th. Epistle to *Basilius* (afterwards Emperor) at that time advanced to the high Station of *Patricius* and *Presēt* of *Constantinople*, and then let him tell me what he thinks of him; if it does not appear, That he was so far from being, through Ambition, a fardid Assentator or Flatterer, that his Boldness and Freedom in speaking, and reprehending, ought to be admired. How boldly, how undauntedly, how much like a *Patriarch* does he tell *Basilius* of his Faults! how undauntedly does he tell that great Man (c), that by his being made the Governor of others more worthy than himself, a whole *Iliad* of Evils had befallen the City! This abundantly shews the Bravery of *Photius*'s Spirit: And yet there is one thing more which far exceeds that, and, in spite of all the Malice and Calumny of his Enemies, declares him a most admirable Patriarch. 'Tis that which is related by *Zonaras*, in these Words. (d) *Basilius* (says he) having murder'd the Emperor *Michael*, and placed himself upon the Throne, when he came into the Church to receive the Sacrament, the Patriarch *Photius* refused to give it him, calling him Murderer. For which (adds he) the Emperor being angry,

δὲν συνῆρατε καὶ τὴν Φάππον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐξώδιον, ὡς τάχα παρὰ νόμους τῶν Ἱννα-
τῶν καὶ πατρίων τῶν δέον τῶν ἀρχιερατικῶν καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν καὶ τῶν καίσαρ καὶ αὐτὸς μὴ
κανονικῶς, ἐκείνους ζῶντας, τῶν δὲ τῶν δὲ οὐκ ἐπιβατευσαί, Πατριάρχον τὸ πρῶ-
τον ἀποβαλλόμενος. Ἀνάγει γὰρ πάλιν εἰς τὴν τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης πειρασμὸν καὶ τὸν
Ἱννατον.

(a) Ἡδὲν ἐγὼ, καὶ πρὶν πύξας,
ἀνάξιον ἐμαυτὸν καὶ τῶν ἀρχιερατικῶν
βαθμῶν, καὶ τῆς ποιμαίνουσης ἐν χειρὶ-
σταῖς διὰ τὸ τοῦτο γὰρ ἀρμόμιος καὶ ἐλ-
κόμενος, ἐπεδοσπέταν περὶ ταῦτα
ὡς εἶδε θανάτις με τῆς τότε περὶ-
βολῆς, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς ἀφορήτης βί-
ας, περιανίστασθαι. Ep. 6.

(b) Ὅτε ὅν βαλλόμενος καὶ π-
κρῶς ἀλγυνόμενος, ἔκλαιον, ἐδυ-
σούπων, πάντα μᾶλλον ἐποιον, ἢ
πῶς ἡμερίζοιμους καὶ βιαζομένους
συμβατέμενον.

(c) Ep. 13. Βασιλεῖον παλαιῶν,
καὶ ἐπὶ πάσῃ πύξας. Ἐρρεῖ τὰ κα-
λά, καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἡ χάρις οἰχέται,
κακία δὲ πολιτεύεται καὶ τὸ μὲν
ψεύδεται πρὸς τοὺς, συλλοβοὶ δὲ
τὰ πῆρκα ἡ ἀλήθεια. Πόθεν ἔν ἡ
τοσούτῃ καὶ κακῶν ἱλίας; ὅτι οὐ
μὲν, ὡς φασιν, ἀρχεῖς οἱ δὲ σε πο-
λύ κρείσους ἀρχεῖν, καὶ σὺν βαρύν
ἐλκεν ζυγὸν ἀναγκάζοντα, &c.

(d) Annal. l. 16. c. 8. Eius de
τὴν μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν ἐν ἐορτῇ
ἀπελθὼν δὲ βασιλεως, καὶ τῆς ἀνα-
μαρίης, θυσίας μετὰ τὴν βασιλῆα,
ἐκωλύθη καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν Φω-
τίου, ἀνδρὸς φόνον ἀποκαλύψαι αὐ-
τὸν. Οργισθεὶς ἔν διὰ τὸτο, συνο-

(a) So *Joannes Thraceſius Scylitzes* ap. *Append. Actorum Græc. Concilii VIII.* c. 12. p. 1432. (and out of him *Cedrenus*) ſays he expell'd *Photius* by a *Synod*: by which they mean the VIII. Gen. Council, (as the *Latins* call it.) But 'tis certain that *Photius* was expell'd before that Council by the Emperor's bare Authority; who pretended that he did it in Obedience to the Decrees of Pope *Nicholas's* Synod.

(b) *Ad an.* 867. p. 380.

peror's own Letter to Pope *Nicholas* (or *Hadrian*) and of Pope *Hadrian's* Epistle to him; from whence he ſays, it appears that the Emperor depofed *Photius* in obedience to Pope *Nicholas's* Decrees. It is true, that That was his Pretence; and that is all that can be made out by the Epistle. Here *Zonaras* tells us what excited him to make uſe of ſuch a Pretence. But it is not only *Zonaras*, as *Baronius* thought, that gives this account of *Photius's* ſtout Behaviour towards the Emperor, and that That was the reaſon of his being elected.

(c) P. 179. Βαſίλειϑ ὁ Μακεδών, Φώτιον τῷ θρόνῳ ἐξέωσας, ὡς ἐλεγχομένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τῷ Μιχαὴλ φόνον, περιεχειρίζετο τῷ ἐν ἀγίοις Ἰγνατίῳ παſειάρχῳ τὸ δεύτερον.

(d) Chronogr. p. 471. Φώτιϑ δὲ παſειάρχης, ἐλθόντῳ τῷ βασιλέως ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ μάλλον αὐτὸν κοινωνεῖν, τὸν λήσῃν καὶ φονεὰ ἔλεγον, καὶ ἀναξίον τῆς θείας κοινωνίας: ὁ δὲ θυμωθεὶς ἀπέſειλεν ἐν Ρώμῃ, καὶ ἤγαγεν τόμον μετὰ Ρωμαίων ἐπισκόπων καὶ τῶν τῷ θρόνῳ αὐτῷ ἐξέωσεν, καὶ περιεχειρίζετο Ἰγνατίῳ τῷ ἐν ἀγίοις παſειάρχῳ τὸ δεύτερον αὐτό.

(e) *De novis Imp.* p. 544.

(f) *Cit. à Labbeo not. in Append. Actorum Græc. Concilii VIII.* p. 1431.

† *Hist. Basilii Macedonis.* Διατὴν ἐν αὐτῷ παντοδαπὴν σοφίαν τε καὶ ἀρετήν. c. 44.

(g) *Ap. Acta Conc. VIII.* juxta *Græcos*, *Pandect. Bevereg.* to. 2. p. 277. Αναμνησάμενοι τὸ καθεὶν ὡς ἀντὶ τῶν περὶ ἡμᾶς (sic leg.)

called a (a) *Synod*, and depofed him, pretending this reaſon, that he had been uncanonically conſtituted. For this Relation of *Zonaras*, the Cardinal *Baronius* is very angry with him (b). *Hac Zonaras Schismaticus favens Schismatico novam & inauditam fingens causam Photii ejectionis.* He calls him a *Schismatick*, as being of the *Greek Church*, which in *Zonaras's* time was, in the Judgment of the *Latins*, *Schismatical*: But what if *Zonaras* was of the *Greek Church*? why ſhould he therefore invent ſuch a Lye? Againſt this Relation the Cardinal urges the Authority of the Em-

The ſame is attested by the Chronographer (c) *Joel*: and not by him only, but alſo by (d) *Leo Grammaticus*, who flouriſh'd above 100 Years before *Zonaras*; and by *Georgius* (e) *Monachus*. And to theſe I add (f) *Georgius Hamartolus*, an Hiſtorian, not yet publiſh'd, who flouriſh'd at this very time, and ended his Hiſtory in the Beginning of our Emperor *Baſilius*. I ſhall cloſe this Paragraph with the Teſtimonies of the Emperor † *Constantinus Porphyrogenetus*, who highly praiſes our Patriarch; not only for his Wiſdom, but likewiſe for his Vertue; and of Pope *John IX.* in his Epistle to the Emperor (f) *Baſilius*: He there calls him Φώπῳ τῷ δυναſτατώτῳν καὶ εὐλαβεſάμην ἀρετῆς Θεῷ. And then adds: *We have heard from almoſt all People that come from*

Constantinople to us, that he is a Perſon adorned with Divine and Primitive Qualifications, and excellent above all others for his Wiſdom and Underſtanding in Matters both Humane and Divine; famous for all practical Vertues, and an unblameable Obſerver of the Divine Commands. And we think it not juſt, that ſuch and ſo great a Man ſhould continue without Employment in the Church; but that being

being exalted, and shining in the Church, he should act as a Bishop and Patriarch.

ἐν τῷ αὐτίδι φοιτῶντων, ἀνδρῶν παλαιῶν παρρησιασιν τοῖς κατὰ Θεοῦ κριμῶν, τὸτο μὲν καὶ σοφία καὶ συνέσις τῇ περὶ τὰ θεῖα καὶ τὰ ἀνδρώπια πάντων διαφέρειν· τὸτο δὲ περὶ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀλλοτρίαν ἀρετὴν, καὶ ἐπιμένειαν τῷ θεῷ ἐν ταλαιμασίᾳ ἀνεπαύοντων ἐν ἑαυτοῖς διαμένειν, καὶ ἐδύνατον ἐκείνων εἶναι, τοῖς τὸν καὶ πλῆκτον ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὴν καὶ ἀπερχόμενον διαμένειν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὅσον καὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησίας πάλιν ἀνατιθέντα καὶ ἀναλαμβάνοντα, τότε αὐτῶν συνέσις καὶ διὰ φίλα ἱερεῖς τε καὶ ἀρχιερεῖς ἔργα διαπερὶσσεύονται. These words are not in the Epistle publish'd *Conc. Labbæi*, tom. 8. p. 1452. which the Popish Editors call the genuine Epistle; looking upon this as corrupted by Photius. But 'tis this is the genuine one, and the other is corrupted.

Thirdly, In the Third place we are to enquire by whom and by how many the Patriarch Photius was receiv'd as Patriarch, and by whom and by how great a Party rejected. He himself complains in an Epistle to Bardas, which he wrote some time after his Advancement, that he was deprived of (a) half his Jurisdiction; but he ought not to be understood strictly, but as the word is commonly used, for a great part.

(a) Ep. 3. p. 66. Ἀφαιρέται ἀπ' ἡμῶν τὸ ἡμισυ τῆς ἀρχῆς.

1. He was received by even such *Metropolitans* as were Friends to Ignatius, not induced thereunto by Hatred against Ignatius. This appears from what Nicetas and others relate. The *Metropolitans* (says (b) Nicetas) who receiv'd him as Patriarch, first made him give it under his hand, that he would honour Ignatius as his Father, and would do all things according to his Will, and would not grieve him in any thing. By another Author, a great Enemy of Photius and his Party, we find it related thus (c). When first Bardas Cæsar (says he) attempted to eject the Patriarch Ignatius; Ignatius, that he might not be driven out with Ignominy, chose rather to recede of himself: But the Bishops made a Protestation, That if Bardas took upon him to depose him, they would rather suffer the greatest Extremities, than permit it to be done. And thus they kept Ignatius from resigning. But when Bardas afterwards had deposed him, the Bishops join'd themselves with Bardas, and so made themselves obnoxious to the Anathema, which they had pronounced against themselves, if they should permit Ignatius to be deposed. Then Photius being by force thrust into the Throne, the Bishops required him to give 'em an assurance under his hand, that he would pay Ignatius all due honour, &c. *Metrophanes*, Bishop of Smyrna, another great Ignatian (d), tells us, That Photius being thrust into Ignatius's Throne by Bardas, all the Bishops rejected him, and pitch'd upon three others (as fitter to be chosen in Ignatius's room) and in that mind continued for many days; but at last the Generality of the Bishops were prevail'd with to accept of Photius, all,

(b) Vita Ign. Καὶ τότε χειρὶ γεγραπτοῦ τῷ κατὰ δρχομένων αὐτὸν πρεσβυτέρῳ ἀπαισιθεῖς Μισσηπολιτῶν, ὥστε παλαικτὸν ἀποτίμειν τῷ Ἰγνατίῳ πᾶν, καὶ πάντα κατὰ βούλησιν αὐτοῦ εἶναι, καὶ ἐν μνησὶ τὸτον παρελυπεῖν.

(c) Anonymus de Photianorum Perjuviis ap. Append. Actorum Græc. Concilii VIII. p. 1413.

(d) Ep. ad Manuclum Patricium ap. Append. Actorum Græc. Conc. VIII. p. 1385.

except five, of which he himself was one. He adds, That he himself, and the other four his Associates, did at last comply when they saw that the Generality of the Bishops were resolv'd to accept of Photius: When therefore (says he) he had given it under his hand that he would carry himself towards Ignatius as towards an unblameable Patriarch, and neither speak any thing against him himself, nor approve of any that should do so, we received him, being forced thereto by the Emperor and Bardas. A little while after he took away the Paper he had given

(a) P. 1388. Ὅποτε παρὰν ὁ σύλλογος ἅπας ἡ δὲ ἐπισκοπὴ τῆς ἐπαρχίας Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀναθεματιστὴν τε αὐτὸν, καὶ καθιερμένον εἶναι ἀπεφύνατο ἀπὸ πάντων καὶ ὑπὸ καὶ ἀγίου πνεύματος. ὅτω ἡ δὲ ἐπισκοπὴ πάντων συμφωνήσαντων, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀναθεματιστὴν εἶναι, εἰ τις ποτὲ φάσιν ἡμολογήσει πασιδείξων, καὶ τῶτον ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα συνελεγκμένων ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς, &c.

* How then could the other Synod consist of all the Bishops of the District of Constantinople?

(b) Ὅτι πάντων ἡ δὲ ἐπισκοπὴ τῆς ἐπαρχίας Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, P. 1392.

swade my self that the Author of this Epistle was not Metrophanes the Ignatian Metropolitane of Smyrna, but some later Person who forged it in his Name:

(c) 1. He says that Ignatius was carried Prisoner to Mitylene after he was deposed by Photius in a Synod; whereas it appears by Nicetas in his Life, that he was at that time a Prisoner in Mitylene.

2. The third Synod which (as he says) condemn'd Photius, he makes to be called by Pope Nicholas before he sent away his Legates Radoaldus and Zacharias to Constantinople. But 'tis certain from Pope Nicholas's first Epistle to the Emperor Michael, and from his first to Photius, that he was not at that time condemn'd in any Synod call'd at Rome. The Pope indeed refuses to own him as Patriarch; but he sends his Legates to Constantinople to enquire into his Cause, intending to act according to the account they should give him. So the Author de Perjuriis Photianorum, p. 1415. mentions only two Roman Synods in which Photius was condemn'd, viz. that call'd by Pope Nicholas after the return of his Legates from Constantinople, and that call'd by Pope Hadrian. The

us under his hand, and deposed Ignatius. At which time (a) all the Bishops of the District of Constantinople being present, anathematized Photius, and pronounced him deposed in the Name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost; and also anathematiz'd themselves if ever they should own him as Patriarch. This Synod sitting for 40 days together in the Church of S. Irene; Photius in the mean while, by the assistance of Bardas, gets a Synod* together in the Church of the Apostles, deposes Ignatius agen, and anathematizes him. For which we reprov'd him to his face, and were therefore violently deposed and imprison'd together with Ignatius. The same Author adds, That Photius was condemn'd by Five Synods, and the first of these Five he makes to be this at Constantinople; and agen he says, That it consisted of (b) all the Bishops of the District of Constantinople. All this that he says concerning the Synod of Constantinople is a very great Fallicity; so notorious an Untruth, that I easily perceive this Epistle was not Metrophanes the Ignatian

Errors, of which he is guilty. That there was no such Synod as he speaks of, will be easily granted by those that have read Ignatius's Life, written by Nicetas; his Case presented by Theognostus to Pope Nicholas, Pope Nicholas's Epistles, the Acts of the VIIIth General Council, Anastasius Bibliothecarius

Empe-

Emperor *Basilus's* Legates to Pope *Hadrian* in their Speech, which they spoke before the Pope had call'd his Synod, recorded by *Joannes Bibl. in Pontificalis Contentuat. V. Hadr. II.* assert, That before that he was *bis à Sede Apostolica judicatus bisque damnatus*: But that Speech seems to be made by the Author himself, who therefore makes 'em speak so; because when he wrote, it was true that he had been twice condemn'd at *Rome*. Unless we will suppose that Pope *Nicholas's* second Synod, which he call'd to condemn *Radoaldus* for consenting to *Ignatius's* Condemnation, might be meant for one. 3. He says that the Pope's Legates were at *Constantinople* eight Months before they could be persuaded to join with *Photius*: which could not possibly be; for the Legates did not leave *Rome* before *Septemb. 25. 860.* and the Council in which they condemn'd *Ignatius* must needs be ended in *February* following, as has been already proved.

his Preface to it, *Styllianus* his Epistle to Pope *Steven I.* and the *Anonymous* Author de *Perjuriis Photianorum*: who tho' they were all great Enemies to *Photius*, yet make no mention of any such Synod. Had *Photius* been condemn'd by any such Synod, we should have had it every-where mention'd and alleged against him. To this I add, That it is not at all likely that the Emperor and *Bardas* would suffer such a Synod to sit 40 Days together in the Church of *S. Irene* against their Patriarch. The whole Truth is this: When *Ignatius* began to be persecuted, then some of the Bishops and others, excited by Compassion towards their old Patriarch, began to fall off from him. So *Anastasius Bibliothecarius* expressly tells us. He tells us, that *Ignatius* being in Banishment, was extremely tormented by *Bardas*; that he was continually cufft, and had his Teeth struck out: Then he adds (a); *These things being known, some Metropolitans and inferior Church-men and Lay-men, compassionating the Afflictions of their Patriarch; and being sorry for his being deposed, began to cry out very zealously to have him restor'd.*

(a) *Præf. Conc. VIII. His ergo compertis COEPERUNT NON-NULLI Metropolitani antistites, ac inferioris sacerdotii vel Laici Pontificis sui tormentis compatientes, dejectionemque dolentes, rectorem sibi proprium reddi, magnopere clamitare.*

2. (b) *Styllianus*, Bishop of *Neocæsarea*, a great *Ignatian*, tells us, That the People of *Constantinople* were induced by the Authority of the Pope, after his Legates *Radoaldus* and *Zacharias* had deposed *Ignatius* in the Synod of *Constantinople*, to own and receive *Photius*; intimating, that they did not do so before. But that is notoriously false. *Anastasius Bibliothecarius* having told us, that some Metropolitans, &c. began to cry out to have *Ignatius* restored; adds, that on that account *Photius* call'd a Synod, and deposed and anathematized *Ignatius*. And this being done (says (c) he) the piety of the Faithfull was the more inflam'd; and the more constantly did the Sheep require their Shepherd, the more cruelly *Photius* raged. It is plain from these words, and those but now produced, that they first adher'd to *Photius*; and that they that afterwards left him, were drawn off from him, not by their Consciences, but their Passions. He afterwards adds, That after *Photius* had

(b) *Ep. ad Steph. P.*

(c) *Quo gesto magis ac magis pietas fidelium accenditur, & eo constantius ab universis oribus proprius Pastor exquiritur quo verius lupi crudelitas fuerit.*

been.

been Condemn'd, and Deposed by the Pope in his *Synod at Rome*, they that were subject to *Photius*, Sequestred themselves from him in *whole Troops*, as paying great Deference to the * *Pope's* Authority.

* *Cujus Censura Photio minime parente, sacratus fidelium catalogus magis inflammatur, & ab ejus se communiōe cateruatim sequestrat, horrescens quod nec a tantâ sede percussus corrigi consenserit.*

Thirdly, How great and numerous a Party there continued to adhere to *Photius*, may be gather'd from the great number of Bishops, which sat in the Two Synods call'd against *Ignatius*: by both which *Ignatius* was Condemn'd, and Anathematiz'd. The first of those two Synods is spoken of by *Radoaldus*,

(a) *Ap. Theognosti Libel. pro Ignatio ad Nic. P.*

(b) *Comment. in Canones istius; Ἐπὶ τῇ μετὰ τὸ ἀγιαστὲ εἰκεῖνα παλειάρχῃ κυρῇ Φωτίῳ, τὸ τὸ Νικάνορον συνδεδεμένῃ, συνεκλήθη καὶ τὸ μακαριώτατῃ πατριάρχῃ Ἰγνατίῳ οἰκουμενικῇ σύνοδος, &c.*

(c) *Ap. Nicetam V. Ignatii, p. 1205.*

and *Jerusalem*, as from the Pope, is sufficiently apparent from the Reason of it's being call'd. For why should *Photius* send to the Bishop of *Rome*, to have Legates sent from thence, and not to the rest of the Patriarchs? Was it because the Council of *Sardica* seems to give the Bishop of *Rome* a particular Power in the

(d) *Nicholaus P. Ep. ad Photium ap. Conc. VIII. act. 4. p. 1033. Quod verò dicitis, neque Sardicense Concilium neque Decretalia vos habere sanctionem Pontificum, vel recipere, non facile nobis facultas credendi tribuitur, maxime cum Sardicense Concilium quod penes vos in vestris regionibus actum est, & omnis recipit: quâ ratione conveniat; ut hoc sancta Constantinopolitana Ecclesia abjiceret, & (ut dignum est) non retineret, &c.*

Deprivation of Bishops? That could not be the Reason, for neither was the Council of *Sardica*, regarded by (d) *Photius*, neither was the business of *Ignatius's* Deprivation the only Reason why this Council was call'd. For it's very notorious, that one great Reason, why *Photius* got this Council to be call'd, was, because the *Iconoclasts* began at that time to grow powerful, that by the Decrees of a Council, that Sect might be utterly suppressed. This appears by *P. Nicholas's* first Epistles to the Emperor *Michael* and *Photius*, sent in Answer to theirs, by the Legates *Radoaldus*, and *Zacharias*, who were sent to that Council. And it also appears by what was done in that Council. For the Council

the

the Discipline of the Church. And hence it came to be call'd, *πρῶτη καὶ δευτέρα σύνοδος*, the *First and Second Council*. This is what the Learned have not hitherto observ'd. The learned *Vindicator* is extremely mistaken concerning this Council. The Author of the *Synodicon* (says * he) besides the * P. 78. Synod, which he mentions cap. 148. by which, he says, *Phoebus* was made Patriarch, makes two more, (c. 149, 150.) the former in *Blachernis*, the latter in the Church of the Apostles. Thus I take to be the A. B. Synodus, wherein *Ignatius* was deposed, as the Commentators expressly tell us. And the two Sessions of that same Synod in different places, as it gave occasion for them to give the Title of A. B. to the Synod it self; so it also seems to have been the occasion, why this injudicious Collector of the *Synodicon*, should make two Synods of it. The latter of the two Sessions was that wherein the Pope's Legates were either forced, or bribed to sign the Condemnation of *Ignatius*. I am apt to think, that the true occasion of convening a Second time the same Bishops before they were departed to their several Homes, was the unexpected arrival of the Legates, that they also might Conciliarly confirm, what had been done in the Council before their Arrival. I shall not take this Account in pieces, to confute the several parts of it, but proceed to demonstrate the truth. We are told by the Commentator *Zonaras*, that this Synod fate (a) both times in the Church of the Apostles; and that therefore it was call'd *First and Second*, because it was forced to break up *re infecta*, by reason of a Disturbance occasion'd by the seditious Hereticks (so the *Iconoclasts* were call'd) and afterwards met together again, and so publish'd its Decrees. In this account *Zonaras* is followed by *Balsamon*. 'Tis the opinion of the Reverend and very Learned (b) Dr. *Beverege*, that therefore it was call'd *First and Second*, because it was really two distinct Councils, and the Decrees of the former were confirm'd by the latter. The first of those two Councils, he takes to be that in which *Nicetas* says *Ignatius* was Condemn'd when absent, (which was only a Provincial one;) the Second, to be that in which the Pope's Legates, *Radoaldus* and *Zacharias*, fate Presidents. This Conjecture may seem to be confirm'd by this Consideration, that the former, the Provincial Synod, was likewise in the Church of the Apostles, as appears (tho' the *Synodicon* makes it to have been in *Blachernis*) by the express Testimony of *Nicetas*, and *Metrophanes* Bishop of *Smyrna*; or whoever else was the Author of the Epistle written in his Name. To which may be added, That as both Condemn'd the Patriarch *Ignatius*, so *Zonaras* (whom *Balsamon* follow'd) seems to speak only by *Hearsay*, when he says, that the Council call'd *First and Second*, was in truth but one Council, and was therefore call'd *First and Second*, because it broke up, by reason of Tumults and Disturbances, and afterwards fate a Second time: λέγεται, &c. καὶ διὰ τὸ το φαίν, αὐτὴν μίαν ἔσαν κείως, πρῶτην καὶ δευτέραν ὀνομαζόμεναι. But notwithstanding all this, it is certain, that the Council call'd *First and Second*, was really but one Council; that the Roman Legates presided in both its Sessions, or Parts; that the former Provincial Synod is not to be reckon'd as one part of it, but that it was so call'd because it met twice, upon two different Matters, One the Deprivation of *Ignatius*,

(a) *Zonaras*, Εἰς αὐτὴν παρρησίῳ καιρῷ δεύσαν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ναῷ (τῇ ἀγίῳ Ἀποστόλων) γενέσθαι συνέλευσιν.

(b) Not. in hoc Conc. Panded. tom. 2. p. 170.

Ignatius,

Ignatius, and the Other the Condemnation of the *Iconoclasts*, and had two distinct *Tomes* containing the *Acts*, and Decrees of the two distinct *Sessions*. But

(a) *Ap. Conc. VIII.*
act. 7. p. 1068.

how does this *New Account* appear to be true? I gather what I have asserted from an *Epistle* of (a) *P. Nicetas* to the *Bishops* and *Clergy* of the *District* of *Constantinople*. He there says, that after *Ignatius* had been condemn'd at *Constantinople* by the *Synod*, in which his *Legates*, *Radoaldus* and *Zacharias*, presided, the Emperor *Michael* sent him,

duo volumina, quorum unum *Depositionis Ignatii gesta* continebat, alterum autem de sanctis habebat *Imaginibus acta*. In the same *Epistle* (b) *P. 1069.* (b), a little after, he speaks of this Council, as of two distinct Councils, because of its two distinct Parts, and two distinct *Acts*.

Alia illa concilia, qua imminentiis illis (Radoaldo & Zacharia Legatis prefidentibus) Constantinopoli celebrata sunt, viz. tam id quod adversus Patriarcham Ignatium, quam id quod pro sacris Imaginibus collectum est. It appears from *Theognostus*, that in that Session or Convention, in which *Ignatius* was condemn'd, there happen'd a great Disturbance, and Swords were drawn, and some wounded: and this (I suppose) it was, that occasion'd that Report mention'd, and follow'd by *Zonaras*, that therefore the first Convention broke up *re infecta*, because the *Iconoclasts* disturb'd 'em, and Swords were drawn, and many kill'd. The first part of this Council consisted of *Seven Actions*, as appears by *Nicetas*, who gives an Account of 'em all, as written in a Volume directed by *Photius* to the Western Emperor *Ludovicus*, and in another which *Photius* kept himself, both which were seiz'd by the Emperor *Basilius* and burnt (at least one of 'em) by the General Council that restored *Ignatius*. That Copy which the Legates *Radoaldus*, and *Zacharias* brought with 'em from *Constantinople* to *Rome*, seems to have been preserved in the Library at *Rome*. Certain it is, that *Anastasius Bibliothecarius* quotes the Acts of that Session,

(c) *Pontificali V.*
Nichelai I.

which condemn'd *Ignatius*, as extant when he wrote, which was some few years after (c). *Sicut in gestis Constantinopolitanis ab illis compilatis facile reperitur.* We are told by *Nicetas*, that all this Volume of the Acts of the Council which condemn'd *Ignatius*, was (d) forged by *Photius*: but that's an idle and a foolish Calumny.

(d) *V. Ign. p. 1225.*

Πρεσβυτεροι οὗτοι το ἐν παλαιῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ συνόδικος, τὰς ἀντιθέσεις ἔσους, ἢ γενομένας, καὶ τὰ Ἱγνατίου, καὶ τὴν ὃ κακοδοσίμονι μένον ἀναπληρώσασθαι διαβολὰ.

Theognostus tells us, that the Patriarch *Ignatius* when he was brought before this Council, alleg'd, that before they took upon 'em to try him, they ought to displace *Photius*, else they could not be his Judges: to which *Radoaldus* and *Zacharias*, the Pope's Legates, replied,

(e) Καὶ ἔτοιμοι ἔσμεν τὰ καὶ κανόνας πρόπειν· ἐκ ἧν ἔργον (Theognostus speaks in the Person of Ignatius) πρὸς τὸν ἐν μέσῳ τῷ κοινῷ ποιήσατε· εἰ δὲ τὸτο δύναιτο, ἐδὲ κεῖται ἔτι· ἐκείνοι δὲ ἀλήθειαν πάλιν, διεξάγουσιν τῇ χειρὶ καὶ κρατύντα ἕως θύλων ἐκείνων.

That the (e) Emperor would not permit it to be done. Tho' they grant it to be agreeable to the Prescript of the *Canons*; yet be-

cause

cause the Emperor would not permit it, they plead that *Necessity*, as a sufficient excuse. He also adds, that the *Metropolitans* in that Council, being ask'd by the *Princes*, who sat there with 'em, why they desired to have *Ignatius* again for their Patriarch, (a) *since they did not in the beginning oppose his Deposition*; they answer'd, That two evils being proposed, the Emperor's Displeasure, and the Insurrection of the People, they chose the least. But do you (say they) who are about the Emperor, restore our Patriarch to his Throne, and we are ready to receive him. Here it ought to be observ'd, that tho' they still own'd, that *Ignatius* was unjustly deposed, tho' still they loved him so much as to desire he should be restored, yet they own the present Possessor, because the Emperor would not suffer *Ignatius* to Govern any longer.

Fourthly, So great was the number of Bishops that receiv'd and acknowledged *Photius*, that to the Decree of his Third Council, which was call'd against Pope *Nicholas*, there subscribed no less than about a *Thousand*, the most numerous Subscription that ever was to any Council. I do not suppose, that there were so many Bishops present in the Council: a great many of 'em, I suppose, were procured after the Council was broke up; and so (b) *Nicetas* seems to intimate. But how does it appear, that about a *Thousand* Bishops subscribed? It appears, from the express Testimony of (c) *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, who was present in the 8th. General Council (commonly so called) where the Acts and Subscriptions of this Council were burnt. Neither was it only the Bishops of the District of *Constantinople* that subscribed to that Council, for the Bishops of that District were at most not above Five hundred, there were therefore near Five hundred of the other Patriarchates. And there were present in that Council, Legates from the Three great Eastern Sees of *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Jerusalem*, who all subscribed to it. I know that *Anastasius* pretends, that almost all those Subscriptions were forged by *Photius*, and that of all that great multitude not above Twenty one did really subscribe: I know that it is commonly alleged by the Enemies of *Photius*, as frequently in the Acts of the 8th. Council, that *Photius* forged all the Acts of that Council, all the Speeches recorded in those Acts, together with all the Subscriptions: but withal I know, that there needs but very little Judgment to discover the falsity of that Allegation. I know that they whole Names were subscribed in this *Photian* Council, did generally deny before the 8th. (*Anti-Photian*) Council that they ever subscribed; I know that the (d) *Metropolitans* did so; that (e) *Thomas* Bishop of *Tyre*, who represented the Patriarch of *Antioch* in this Council, denied that the Church of *Antioch* ever sent to, or receiv'd any Letters from *Photius*;

(a) Δὶδ καὶ πρὸς τὸς Μητροπολίτας ἐτρέψαν, ἄλλως ἄλλως διαβάλλοις καὶ αἰσιώμενοι ὅτι τῷ ἀπὸταξιν τῷ ἐμῇ τὰ αὐτοὶ ἔφερον, καὶ πῶς πάλιν ἡ τὰς μὲ Πατριάρχην; πρὸς ἃς οἱ Μητροπολίται ἀντεῖπον· ὅτι δὴ κακῶν περιγεμένων, τότε βασιλικῇ βουλῇ, καὶ ὅ τῷ πλήθει ἐπαναστάως, τὸ καρότερον ἐξελεξάμεθα τότε· ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς οἱ περὶ τὴ βασιλεία ἀπόδεξε τὸ θέρον τῷ Πατριάρχῃ, καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν μὴ φρονήσαντε.

(b) *V. Ign. p. 1224.*

(c) *Præf. Conc. VIII. Mille circiter Antiscriptam subscriptiones.*

(d) *Act. 8. p. 1103.*

(e) *Ibid. act. 1.*

p. 997. act. 4. p. 1035.

(a) *Ibid.* act. 4.
p. 1035. act. 5. p.
1042.

that (a) *Elias* who sat there as a Legate from the Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, expressly affirms more than once, that the Church of *Jerusalem* never receiv'd *Photius*, that she never sent to him, or receiv'd a Letter from him: I know that he asserts this, as before God, and the *Elect Angels*. Nay more, I acknowledge that they who sat in this *Photian* Council, as Legates from the three Eastern Patriarchs, being call'd before the 8th. (Anti-*Photian*) Council (b) did all deny that they were sent from their respective Churches as Legates; that they own themselves to be mean Persons, and that they were corrupted by *Photius*. All this I acknowledge: and this, you

(b) *Act* 8. p. 1102,
1103. act. 9. p. 1121,
1122.

will say, is enough to prove our Patriarch *Photius* a very great Villain, and to ruin the Authority of the Acts of his Council. No such matter: We need but consider the Circumstances of those times, and then we may easily see, that all that was denied, was either through ignorance denied, or for fear. The Pope of *Rome* having been Condemn'd, and Anathematiz'd by this *Photian* Council, there was nothing to be expected from *Rome* by those, over whom that proud and imperious Church had any power, but utter Ruin, Deprivation, Anathema's, all that ever she could inflict: The Emperor *Basilius* having deposed the stout Patriarch *Photius*, whom at that time he mortally hated, what now must be done, that he may ingratiate himself with the Pope? He had lately subscribed, as *Cesar*, to the Pope's Condemnation; what shall he do to pacifie an implacable Pope? 'Tis no very difficult matter. It is but to bring in the Acts of the *Photian* Council before a great Company (as *Nicetas* tells us was done) and there seem astonish'd at the strange Impostures of *Photius*. His own Name subscribed! He, for his part knows nothing of it. And what follows then? a general Protestation of all. There is no one (forsooth!) of all those, who saw their Names subscribed, knows any thing of the matter.

(c) *Nicetas V. Ignatii. Metrophanes Ep. ad Manuelem Patriarchium. Legati imp. Basilii ap. Pontificale V. Hadriani II.*

Who dares to do it? Thus after a general Subscription there follows a general (c) Denial. Thus the Eastern Churches for fear of the Roman *Anathema's* deny, that they sent any Legates, or acknowledged *Photius* as Patriarch; and the Legates themselves, are forced to say they were no Legates, least by standing out in the Truth, they should run themselves Headlong into inevitable ruin, and expose themselves to the bitterest torments. And

here I cannot but observe, that when *Basilius* and *Leontius* the Legates of *Alexandria*, and *Jerusalem*, were examin'd by the Anti-*Photian* Council, and scrupled to Anathematize those who subscribed to the *Photian* Acts, and had any thing to do in his Council, the Popes Legates cry out to affright 'em to a Compliance (d), *Deliver 'em up to us, that they may be carried to Rome.* This scar'd 'em quite out of their Honesty, and so they pronounce the *Anathema*. That what I have said is a true Account of the

(d) P. 1103. *Senatus dixit: Quoniam non vultis anathematizare, apparet quia comparticipes ejus (Photii) estis; ut aut anathematizemini & ipsi, aut tradamini Legibus Vicarii Romae dixerunt. Quoniam non patiuntur anathematizare qui fecit malum hoc, tradantur nobis, & descendant nobiscum Romam, &c.*

Matter,

Matter, they that are altogether disengaged from Prejudice, will (I fancy) easily grant. For how is it possible for an unprejudiced Man to believe, that the great *Photius* would ever have dared to be Guilty of so gross an Imposition so easily to be detected? Who can believe, that *Photius* never sent to the Eastern Patriarchs, as the Legates in the 8th. Council affirm? It appears moreover, from the Testimony of *George*, who sat as Legate in our *Photian* Council from the Church of *Antioch*, that there was a correspondence betwixt that Church and *Photius*, whatever the Bishop of *Tyre*, either through Fear or Ignorance, asserts to the contrary. Tho' the Legate *George* is forced to say, that he was not sent from that Church as a Legate; yet even that which he says, is enough to prove that there was a correspondence.

I came (says he) to *Constantinople* (a), *tantummodo ut literarum delator, à Constantino Oeconomo Antiochenſium Eccleſia* (there was no Patriarch of *Antioch* at that time, and in the Vacancy the *Oeconomus* was the chief Person of the Church) *miſſus. Ab eo enim miſſus ſum ad Photium & Michaellem Imp.* (b) *cauſa benediſtionis.* To this I muſt add, that tho' the Pope after he had condemn'd *Photius* in his Synod at *Rome*, ſent a-bout his Synodical Letters to all the Eastern Patriarchs, yet 'tis conſels'd by the *Ignatians* themſelves, as by *Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius*, That the Eastern Patriarchs were not any way active againſt *Photius*. It moreover appears, that during all the time of *Ignatius's* Deprivation, the Eastern Patriarchs, at leaſt the Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, had no correſpondence with *Ignatius*. This *Theodoſius* Patriarch of *Jeruſalem* confeſſes of himſelf, in the

(c) Letter which he wrote him after his Reſtauration, pretending to him then, that the reaſon was, becauſe living under the Government of the *Saracens*, he dared not write into thoſe Parts. What, not in ſo long a time?

ne forte fieremus penes poteſtatem, qua nos tenet exiſtimationi mala vel ſuſpicioni; ap. Conc. 8. p. 987.

Fifthly, That the Clergy (in General) the Senate, and all the whole City of *Constantinople* receiv'd, and ſubmitted to *Photius*, is confeſs'd by *Baanes*, the

Propoſitus, in the Preſence of the (d) 8th. Council. So (e) *Nicetas* ſays in the Life of *Ignatius*, that *P. Nicholas*, and his Synod, Excommunicated *Photius* and his Adherents, the Emperor and all the Senate. And the Emperor (f) *Baſilius* tells *P. Nicholas* (or *Hadrian*, for he receiv'd the Epiſtle) in the Epiſtle which he wrote to him againſt *Photius*, That there were very few Biſhops that adhered to *Ignatius*, and did not own *Photius*. How very few Biſhops there were, that adher'd to *Ignatius*, may be gather'd from the

(a) Conc. VIII. aſſ. 9. p. 1122.

(b) Præf. Conc. VIII. p. 966. *Sane notandum quod ceteri Throni nihil, inter Agarenos poſiti, ſuper hoc negotio ſumſere laboris.*

(c) *Noſti autem utique, ſanctiſſime, cauſam, ob quam neque ſcribere neque miſſere potuimus ad vos,*

(d) *Ἡ ἐκρωσὺν καὶ σύγκλητος καὶ πᾶσι ἡ πόλις.* Act. 8. p. 1352. Sic Acta Latina p. 1100. *Sacerdotium & Senatus & tota ciuitas.*

(e) p. 1213.

(f) Ap. Acta Concilii VIII. act. 3. p.

1295. *Ὅτι οἱ καὶ παντὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τῇ ἐκείνου παρὶς καὶ χάρις.*

(a) P. 1219.

(b) *Nicephorus Amasia, Joannes Silei, Nicetas Athenarum, Metrophanes Smyrnae, Michael Rhodi, Georgius Iliopoleos, Petrus Troadis, Nicetas Cephaludii, Athanasius Magnesia, Nicephorus Crotona, Antonius Alist, Michael Ceryrurum.*

(c) *Ep. ad Steph.*
P.

Acts of the 8th. Council. In the beginning of that Council all the Bishops that had adher'd to *Ignatius*, are call'd in by the Legates of the Patriarchal Sees. (a) *Ingrédiantur Episcopi QUOT QUOT pro veritate Ignatio adjuncti depugnarunt*: then all are mentioned (b) by Name, and they amount to no more than twelve, tho' in the whole District of *Constantinople* there were near upon Five hundred. 'Tis true, I believe there might be some few more who were not then at *Constantinople*, because *Stylianus* Bishop of *Neocæsaria*, who was not one of those twelve, (but was present in the last Act of the Council) (c) affirms, that he had constantly adher'd to *Ignatius*: But it is not to be doubted, but that all that possibly could, took care to be present at *Constantinople*, at the beginning of the Council. It is here to be observ'd, that even these few did not reject *Photius*, but own'd him as Patriarch till he began to persecute *Ignatius*. This may be gather'd from the Epistle of *Metrophanes* to *Mannel Parricius*, already quoted.

Sixthly, Neither was it only by the Eastern Bishops that *Photius* was receiv'd. It appears moreover, that, tho' the Pope, who was Patriarch of the West, had condemn'd *Photius* by a *Synod*, yet many even amongst the *Latins* themselves, acknowledged him as Patriarch of *Constantinople*. This I gather from what *Nicetas Paphlago* relates, That *Photius* having with his Council condemn'd *P. Nicholas*, sent to the Emperor of the *Latins*, *LUDOVICUS*,

(d) *Δέξιε λαμπροῖς ὅτι μά-
λισα τὸ ῥῆμα Φεαγγίας Λοδβιχον,
καὶ ἠγγιζέσαν τὴν αὐτῶν λαμπ-
τὴν καποιοῦμεν, βασιλεῖς τέ-
τες ἀνευρημαῖν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει
ἐπαγγέλλετο, εἰς συνεργήσαιεν αὐ-
τῷ περὶ τὴν ἀποκτον ταύτην καὶ
ἀδισμον ἐπιθυμίαν, καὶ τὸ δίκαι-
ον ἄνδρα τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐκκλησίας
βιαιῶς ἐξωθήσαιεν· τέταν τὸ ὡσι-
σχημένον λόγῳ θαύρον, ἀλόγως
ὁ μάταιος κατὰ τὴν ὑπερφανίαν.
p. 124.* I believe this Agree-
ment between *Photius* and the Em-
peror *Ludovicus* was made when
the Council was first summon'd.

(e) P. 1213.

(f) P. 1253.

(g) *Act. i. p. 995. Tunc cognos-
centes diversus Papa Nichol. scrutatus omnia, fecit Synodum & convocavit OMNES Occi-
dentales Episcopos, Archiepiscopos, Metropolitans, & omnem Clerum sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ,
ac totum Senatum Principum Romanorum, &c.*

Senate and Nobility. In another (a) place they tell us, that *Photius* was condemn'd by *P. Nicholas*, *cum OMNIBUS occidentalibus Prasulibus*. So the Emperor (b) *Basilus* asserts, that the Pope, *cum totâ Romanorum Ecclesia*, condemn'd him. *Metrophanes* Bishop of *Smyrna*, (or whoever else was the Author of the Epistle inscribed to *Mannuel Patricius*) is more modest: he only says, that it was (c) *no small Synod*. So likewise is *P. Nicholas* himself in his Epistle to (d) *Ignatius*, in which he only says, that he had called together *very many Bishops* out of many of the *Western Provinces*, and condemn'd *Photius*: So in his Epistle (e) to the *Bishops* and *Clergy* of the *District* of *Constantinople*. But in an Epistle to the Emperor (f) *Michael*, he uses Terms as general, as those above quoted, and tells him, that himself with all the *Western Bishops* had condemn'd *Photius*. The exact truth we learn from the (g) *Appendix* of the *Greek Acts* of the 8th General Council: we have there the number of Bishops precisely set down, and they amount to no more than One hundred and seventy, tho' it is not at all to be doubted, but that the Pope did his utmost endeavour, and got as many Bishops together as possibly he could. It appears from this Testimony, how much the *Vindicator* is mistaken, when he fancies that this Synod of the Pope exceeded the *Photian Synod* which it condemn'd, which consisted of Three hundred and Eighteen Bishops (h). *P. Nicholas* (says he) no doubt, made all the interest he could to get a Synod that he might oppose to this Synod of *Photius*. He knew his Authority alone would never be admitted for it without a Synod, and such a Synod as the Canons required: And tho' he allow'd no Superstition for the number (of Three hundred and Eighteen, the same with the number of the *Nicene Council*) yet the *Antiochian Canon*, which by this time obtain'd in both the *Eastern* and *Western Churches*, required, that the Synod that must restore *Ignatius*, must at least be more numerous than the Synod that deprived him. No Synod therefore could serve his purpose, but such a one as must have had more than Three hundred and Eighteen Bishops. This, I suppose, made it some time before he could condemn *Photius*, or restore *Ignatius* with such a Synod. Tho' it be asserted by the *Roman Legates*, in the 8th. General Council, that all the *Western Archbishops, Metropolitans, &c.* sate in that Synod, yet *Binius* (if I well remember) confesses, that there was only one *Metropolitan* there: but how he knew that, I know not.

(a) *Ibid.* aff. 7. p. 1064. So aff. 6. p. 1055. they say that the Pope condemn'd him. *Indist. XI. collectis Occidentalibus Episcopis in Ecclesia B. Petri.*

(b) *Sermone Exhortatorio lecto in Conc. VIII.* aff. 6. p. 1056.

(c) *Συνόδον ἡκ ὀλίγων.* *Append. Actuum Græc. Concilii VIII.* p. 1388.

(d) Ep. 13. *Tunc Convocato multarum provinciarum occidentalium regionum sanctissimorum Episcoporum cætu, &c.*

(e) *Ap. Conc. VIII.* aff. 7. p. 1069.

(f) *Ap. Acta Græca Concilii VIII.* p. 1211. Μετὰ πάντων ὧν ἐσπεύων προέβρω.

(g) C. 9. p. 1417. Ἐκ τῆ συνόδου κῆς ὁμοῦλης τὰ πάντα Νικολάου τῆ γερουμάνης ὅπῃ τῆ συνόδου, ἣν ἐποίησε σὺν ἑκατὸν ἐβδωμόκοις ἐπισκόποις ὅτε καθήρεται Ραδούλδου (so by many others *Radoaldus* is said to be depos'd, together with *Zacharias*, tho, in truth, he was not deposted in this Synod.) καὶ Ζαχαρείαν, &c.

(h) *P. 60.*

Seventhly,

Seventhly, As *Photius* was by so many receiv'd, whilst the ejected Patriarch *Ignatius* was still living; so as soon as he was restored upon *Ignatius's* Death, tho' he was not ordain'd agen, he was generally receiv'd by both the *Metropolitans* and Bishops of his own District, and likewise all the *Patriarchs*. As soon as he was restored to his See, he sent a *Synodical* Letter to

(a) V. Ign. Τῶν Pope *John IX.* the Successor of *Hadrian*, subscribed by (a) all ἑλὼν Μητροπολιτῶν. the *Metropolitans* of the *Constantinopolitan* District, as appears from *Nicetas*; who, according to the *Calumny* so often made use of by *Photius's* Enemies, adds, that he got their Subscriptions by Deceit: The *Metropolitans* (says he) knowing nothing at all of the Matter, but believing that they had set their hands to a *Deed of Conveyance*. Pope *John* having receiv'd his Epistle, receives him as Patriarch, and sends away his Legates to *Constantinople* to the Gen. Council which the Emperor had summon'd. An Abridgment of the Acts of that Council, as it was transcribed out of a Treatise of *Joannes Beccus*, a Patriarch of *Constantinople*, Dr. *Beverege* has publish'd in his *Pandects*. From the Acts of this Council I observe, That Pope *John* and the rest of the Patriarchs and Bishops not onely own *Photius* as a true Patriarch at that time, and make a Decree, That whosoever was rejected by *Photius*, should be likewise rejected by the Pope; and whoever was rejected by the Pope, should be likewise rejected by *Photius*; but also, that they own'd him to have been a true Patriarch whilst *Ignatius* was living, from the very beginning. This is manifest concerning the Pope, from his Epistle to the Emperor *Basilius*, which is there extant. In that Epistle he calls those Synods,

(b) P. 277. Μηδὲς περὶ αὐτοῦ
ζῆλον τὰς κατ' αὐτὸν χειρηνύμενας
ἀδικίας συνόδους, μηδὲς, ὡς τοῖς
λοιποῖς τῷ ἀγλαοπύργῳ δοκεῖ, τὰς
τῷ περὶ ἡμῶν μακαρίων ἀρχιερέων,
Νικολάου τε καὶ Ἀδριανῆς, κα-
ταψήφισαι αἰνῶντος ἡ γὰρ ἐπεὶ Νῆ-
στησαν παρ' αὐτῶν τὰ κατὰ τὸ
ἀγιωτάτη Φωτίου πρεσβυτέρῳ.

which were call'd against *Photius*, (b) unjust Synods: And is so much asham'd of what had been done by those Synods, that he affirms, that his Predecessors *Nicholas* and *Hadrian* had no hand in 'em, and did not approve of what they decreed. He requires all Christians to receive him as a true Patriarch: And let no one (says he) allege for their excuse, those unjust Synods which were gather'd against him. Let no one plead that (as some foolish Persons do believe) our blessed Prede-

cessors, *Nicholas* and *Hadrian*, condemn'd him. For those things which were done against him, were not approv'd of by them. I know that these Words are not to be found in the Copy of this Epistle which the Popish Editors of the Councils have publish'd out of the *Vatican* Library with the Title of Pope *John's* genuine Epistle: But 'tis much more probable that the *Romanists* corrupted that Epistle,

† *Beccus* mentions two Copies of this Epistle, a Greek one and a Latin one, both recorded in the Acts of this Council.

(c) P. 278. Φωτίον τὸν εὐσεβεστά-
τον ἀδελφόν ἡμῶν ἀποδεξάμεθα,
ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ πάλαι Ἀδριανὸς Ταγέ-
στον τὸν αὐτῷ δέον, &c.

than † that this which we have quoted was corrupted by *Photius*. He likewise declares, that he receiv'd him by virtue of his first Promotion, in these words: (c) *Because we through the care we have of the Peace of the Church, have receiv'd our most holy Brother Photius, as heretofore Pope Hadrian I. did his*

Unkle

Unkle Tarasius (promoted, as *Photius* was, immediately from a Lay-man) it ought not to be made a Custom or Rule; for those things which are good onely upon occasion, cannot be a Law to many. It appears also from that Epistle which the Romanists call his genuine Epistle, that the Pope did not require that *Photius* should be re-ordain'd, tho' by the Synods in which he was condemn'd he was declared a meer Lay-man. 2dly. I observe, that all that whole General Council, condemn'd all the Proceedings of the several Synods against him. (a) We decree (says the Council) that the Synod call'd at Rome under the most blessed Pope Hadrian against the most holy Patriarch *Photius*, and the Synod gather'd at Constantinople against the most holy Patriarch *Photius*, be to all intents and purposes condemn'd and cast out of the Church: That it be never reckon'd as one of the holy Councils, nor ever call'd by the Name of a Council. God forbid it should. To this the whole Council of no less than 373 Bishops, and among them the Legates of the Pope, and all the other Patriarchs, subscribe. And the Emperor *Basilins*, who had some Years before subscribed to the Council, that condemn'd and anathematiz'd *Photius*, here subscribes, with the Princes his Sons, to (b) the renunciation of all things that had either been written or spoken against him.

(a) Τὴν γενομένην σύνοδον καὶ φωνιστὰ ἀγιάστα πατριάρχην ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Ἀδριανῷ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου πάπα καὶ τὴν γενομένην σύνοδον ἐν Κωνσταντινπόλει καὶ τὸ ἀγιάστα φωνιστὸν ἐρίζομεν παύσειν ὡς ἄσβεστον καὶ ἀποκηρυγμένην ἐστίν, καὶ μὴ μετὰ ἀγίας συνόδους συναριθμεῖσθαι ἢ συγκαταλέγεσθαι, μὴτε μὲν σύνοδον καλεῖσθαι, μὴ γένεσθαι, p. 283.

(b) Καὶ ἀποδοῦναι πάντων ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς γεγράφεν ἢ λαλήσειεν, ἰδιόχειρος ὑπὲρ γεγραμμάτων, p. 286, 287.

Notwithstanding all this, they that were heretofore great Sticklers for *Ignatius*, continu'd still *Photius*'s Enemies, and refused to communicate with him. And lest Pope *John*'s Authority should draw off some of their Party, they raise a Report that he did not receive *Photius*, but that he had (c) condemn'd and deposed his Legates, *Eugenius* and *Paul*, for confirming *Photius* in that Council without his Order; and that from the (d) *Ambo* he pronounced them *Anathema* who should think that *Photius*, when condemn'd by Pope *Nicholas* and *Hadrian*, was not condemn'd by the just Judgment of God. But 'tis confess'd by even (e) *Strylianus* himself, that *Photius* was receiv'd by Pope *John*. He pretends that *Paul* and *Eugenius* were corrupted by *Photius* when sent by the Pope to Constantinople about another Business: That after that *Photius* forged a Paper in the Names of *Ignatius* and his Adherents, in which the Pope was desired to receive him. On this account (says he) the Pope sent to Constantinople another Legate (f) *Peter*, who, together with *Paul* and *Eugenius*, proclaim'd him receiv'd by the Pope.

(c) *Breviarium Concilii VIII. ap. Append. Astorum Græcorum*, pag. 1424.

(d) *Append. eadem*, pag. 1424.

(e) *Ep. ad Steph. P. ibid.* p. 1494.

(f) These are the three Roman Legates that sat in the Council above mention'd, as appears by the *Acts*.

To all this I add, That our Patriarch *Photius* has all along to this time, been own'd by the Greek Church to have been a true Patriarch of Constantinople, even

even before *Ignatius's* Death, when he was Patriarch the first time. This is manifest from hence, that the above-mention'd Council, which condemn'd all the Synods, that were called against *Photius*, as unjust, is commonly own'd by the *Greeks*, and called the *8th. General Council*: and that which the *Latins* are wont to call by that Title (that in which *Photius* was condemn'd) the *Greeks* take no notice of. It appears moreover from hence, That the *Canons* which were made by the *Phorian* Council, Entituled, *The First and Second*, by which *Ignatius* was condemn'd, have been all along received by the Church, as good *Ecclesiastical Law*, and as such are illustrated with the Comments of the *Greek*

(a) Κάνονες ἐκεί-
νης τοῦ 8ου & 9ου
αἰ. μεταλήσει Κων-
σταντινουπόλεως πατρὸς
καὶ συντρέχει συνόδος.

Canonists, *Zonaras*, *Balsamon*, &c. and the Council it self is honoured with the Title of (a) the *Holy and great Constantinopolitan Council, First and Second.*

It appears from what hath been said, tho' it should be granted, that the *Ignatians* refused to own *Photius*, for this reason only, because *Ignatius* was *uncanonically* deposed, yet this Example would make more for us than for our Adversaries.

I come now in the *Fourth* place to shew, That that was not the only Reason, that *Ignatius* and his Adherents lookt upon *Photius* to be on other Accounts, incapable of being a true Patriarch, and that they allege other Reasons for their separating from him. Which are these,

1. That he was a *Neophytus*; that he was ordain'd Patriarch contrary to the *Canons*, having gone through all the several Degrees in Six days time. This is every where urged against him, as a Reason why he ought not to be receiv'd as Patriarch, by P. *Nicholas* in his Epistles, who insists very largely upon it; by the (b) *Synod of Rome*, under the other (c) *Roman Synod*, under P. *Hadrian*; by the General Council of *Constantinople*, by which he was condemn'd; by the Patriarch (d) *Ignatius* himself before the Council of *Constantinople*, called *First and Second*; and by (e) *Syrianus Neocaesariensis*. *Anastasius Bibliothecarius* (f) in his Life of P. *Nicholas*, where he mentions this Schism, gives us only this Reason for it, by which it appears, that he lookt upon it to be, at least, the chief Reason, if not the only One. In the holy *Constantinopolitan Church*, (says he) there was a Schism, viz. because the most reverend Patriarch *Ignatius* being ejected, they substituted *Photius* a *Lay-man*, ordain'd suddenly, contrary to the Precept of the *Canons*.

stris, insperato quodammodo impetu irrepere audeat, & principatus amore ante ducatum praestare velit, quam tyronis consummet officium, & ante tentet docere quam discere.

(c) Ap. Append. Actorum Graec. Concilii VIII. c. 10. p. 1420.

(d) Teste Theognosto in Libello Nicolao P. oblato.

(e) Ep. ad Steph. P. ap. Append. Actorum Graec. Concilii VIII.

(f) Pontificali. In sancta Constantinopolitana Ecclesia Schisma adoleverat, sc. quia ejecto ex ejusdem sede Ecclesia Ignatio reverendissimo Patriarcha Photium ex Laicis & ex militibus conjuratum contra reverentiam Canonum Statuta Neophytum subito inibi subrogatum Antistessem.

2. That

2. That he was ordain'd by a Person not capable of Ordaining any one, viz. Gregory Archbishop of *Syracuse*, who (say they) was at that time deposed and stood *Excommunicate*, and actually engaged in a *Schism*. This Gregory of *Syracuse* had been first Deposed and Excommunicated by *Benedict III.* of *Rome*, and a *Synod*; (so some say, more truly by Pope *Leo IV.* and afterwards by Pope *Benedict*) and being at *Constantinople* when *Ignatius* was first made Patriarch, *Ignatius* (b) refused to permit him to be present at his Consecration. On that account he engaged in a *Schism* against him, and was Excommunicated likewise by him. When *Ignatius* was deposed, the *Synod* that Elected *Photius*, took off his Excommunication and restored him, and all that were engaged with him, to the Church; but this Absolution *Ignatius*, and his Party lookt upon as perfectly Null: and consequently *Photius* was in their Judgment no Bishop. This Reason, why he ought not to be receiv'd as a Patriarch or Bishop, is alleged by (c) Pope *Nicholas*, and very largely insisted on: he alleges that Gregory standing thus Excommunicated, *Photius's* Head was rather wounded, than consecrated by that Imposition of hands, and (d) denies, that he could be a Bishop being so ordain'd. It is also urged by the *Synod of Rome*, call'd by Pope *Nicholas*, in its Decrees against *Photius*, and by *Stylianus Neocaesariensis*. It was alleged by (e) *Ignatius* himself to the Council, by which he was tried and condemn'd.

(b) Vide Nicetam in Vita.

(c) Ep. ad Orientales, ap. Conc. VIII. p. 1075, 1076, 1077.

(d) Quamobrem cogitate, fratres charissimi, tractate & vobiscum sedula meditatione perquirite, si stare *Photius* possit, etiamsi miris virtutibus pollent, etiamsi omni scientia fulgeat; quando qui hunc statuisse tentavit, dudum jam cecidit, & volens erigi, cum conantibus se erigere nunquam recuperaturus demum ruit. Consideret ergo vestra divinitus inspirata prudentia, quomodo *Photius*, etiamsi nihil aliud sibi jure valeat impedire, queat in Sacerdotali gradu persistere: quandoquidem institutor suus, cum hic ordinaretur, non solum Sacerdotio, verum & ipso carebat Christiano vocabulo.

(e) Theognostus.

3. That *Photius* himself was engaged in a *Schism* against *Ignatius*, before he was ordain'd, together with Gregory of *Syracuse*; and together with him excommunicated by *Ignatius*. This is urged as another Reason why he ought not to be own'd as a Bishop by (f) Pope *Nicholas*, and (g) *Ignatius* himself, and *Metrophanes* Bishop of *Smirna* in the (h) Eighth General Council, and by the Author of the (i) Appendix to the Greek Acts of that Council. And this is the first Objection made against him in the Decrees of Pope *Nicholas's* (k) *Synod*.

(f) Loc. supra cit.

(g) Loc. cit.

(h) P. 1055. Et quod Schismaticus fuerit (*Photius*) antea multorum scandalorum auctor effectus est, &

multos ab Ecclesiastica Communionem recedere fecerit, & ultroque ac volens consecrari à Gregorio proposuerit, nullà in hoc necessitate impulsus.

(i) C. XI. p. 1424.

(k) Ap. Epist. *Nicholai P.* ad Episc. & Clerum *Constantinopol.* lectam in Conc. VIII. act. 7. p. 1171. *Photius* qui ex Schismaticorum, & se à sancta Communionis participatione avertentium parte esse dignoscitur, &c.

To all this I add, (and this I desire our Adversaries would be pleas'd to take special notice of) That *Ignatius*, when he was tried by the great Council of *Constantinople* freely professed before the Council,

(a) Εἰ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἢ ὁ μισθός, συνένευσά κ' ἔκων αὐτῷ νῦν ὃ ἀλλοτεῖον πῶς καταστῶν ποιμένα τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ οὐνοβάτων?

That if *Photius* (a) had not been out of the Church, i. e. if he had not been a *Schismatick* and *Excommunicate*, when he was made Patriarch, he would not have opposed him, but would willingly have yielded to him, But an alien (said he) from *Christ*, how shall I make a *Pastor* of the *Sheep* of *Christ*? That *Ignatius* made this Declaration before that Council, he himself witnesses (or what is the same thing, his Legate *Theognostus* for him) in his

case presented to Pope *Nicholas*. And by its being there mention'd it appears he was still of that mind. It is likewise attested by the Author of the Epistle entituled, *An Epistle of Metrophanes the Metropolit* (of *Smyrna*) to *Manuel Patricius*, That at that time that *Photius* was consecrated Patriarch, the deposed Patriarch *Ignatius* gave his free consent, that another should be chosen

(b) Append. A3. *Græc. Concilii VIII.* p. 1385.

in his place, provided he were of the Church, not engag'd in a Schism or *Excommunicate*. *Photius* (says (b) that Author) whilst he was a *Lay-man*, separated himself from the Church, and was *excommunicated*. And, whilst he was under those Circumstances, he was nominated Pa-

triarh by *Bardas*. He then adds (as has been already observ'd) That the Bishops rejected him, and pitched on three others, but all save five were at last brought over to *Photius*. Now (says he) when we perceived that the generality of the Bishops were corrupted, we thought fit (he either was, or pretends to have been one of those five) to restore him to the Church, and

(c) Ἡ δὲ Θεσιπίας, ἐν τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἡμῶς ἐκκλησίας ἡγουμένης παρεισέρχων.

to the Patriarch's Communion, that we might not transgress the Patriarch's Commands (c), who had commanded that we should chuse such a one Patriarch as was a Member of the Church.

It is natural for Readers to desire Variety, and 'tis irksome to be long on one Subject. And they that are weary of being so long in the same Company, may here, if they please, take their leave of *Ignatius*, and turn to the other fresh Company. But for those who are not weary of this Entertainment, I shall add these following Remarks.

1. I observe, that *Ignatius* and his Adherents did no more regard the Determinations of Synods, than they did the Imperial Authority. When

(d) P. 79. the Suffrages of a Council were once gain'd (says (d) the worthy and learned *Vindicator*) what Arts soever those were that were used to gain 'em, *Photius* had then some appearance of Right, till *Ignatius* could relieve himself by another, and a greater Council. That was a lawful way of recovering it by the very Canons. However, *Photius* could in the mean time plead the Canons of his own Council, (which condemned *Ignatius*, and forbad the Clergy and Bishops to separate from their present Patriarch) that none ought to separate from himself, thus Synodically settled, nor to join with *Ignatius*, thus Synodically condemned, till himself were condemned, and *Ignatius* resettled by a greater and a more numerous Synod. Till P. *Nicholas* (says the *Vindicator* a little after) had restored

Ignatius

Ignatius by a greater Synod than that was, that condemned him, how good soever his Title was, yet the Guilt of Schism had been imputable to Ignatius, if he had made a Separation, or intruded himself into his own Throne, before a Synod had restored him. Nay by the Antiochian Canon, he had forfeited all Pretensions of having the merit of his Cause consider'd, if he had challenged any Duty from his Clergy and People before a Synod had restor'd him. He adds, that by the Canons of the Church, a Provincial Synod of Rome, could not condemn or restore a Patriarch of Constantinople; and therefore the Synod called at Rome by P. Nicholas, how numerous soever it might be, could not have any Authority to depose Photius, and restore Ignatius: that Photius therefore was the Canonical Patriarch of Constantinople, till he was deposed by a Synod called at Constantinople, that was greater than that which deposed Ignatius. The Synod (says he) by which Ignatius was to be relieved, was to be another, and that a greater Synod in the same Constantinople, and till he could get such a Synod on his side, himself had been responsible for the Schism, that must have followed on his claiming his Right. Thus much the Vindicator: And thus (tho' he does not know it) he perfectly condemns Ignatius, and all his Adherents, as men not regarding the Rules of Ecclesiastical Government, but hurried away by their own Passions to Schismatical Proceedings. We do not find (says he) that Ignatius made any stir after he was deposed by a Synod of Constantinople, till he was restored Conciliarly in the same place, where he had been deprived. No? Then sure he never could find, that he made any stir at all. There is nothing can be more notorious than that Ignatius, never paid any deference to the Authority of those Synods that condemned him. That he lookt upon himself as Patriarch, as well after he was condemned by Synods, as before; appears, First from hence, That after he had been condemned by a Provincial Synod, when he was summoned to appear before the General Council, called First and Second, he asked those, that summoned him, under what Character they would have him appear, as a Bishop, as a Priest, or as a Monk? And when it was told him, that he might appear as himself in his own Conscience thought fit, he put on his Patriarchial Robes, and was going to the Council in 'em, till Messengers from the Emperor met him, and commanded him to put 'em off, or it should cost him his Life.

This Account we have in his Life. 2. When he made his appearance before that Council, he declared against their Authority, and positively told 'em that they could not be his Judges, except they first deposed Photius. This his Legate Theognostus attests in his Case presented to Pope Nicholas. 3. After he was condemned by this great Council, he still continued to suffer the same Afflictions and Torments as before; and why was he still tormented and persecuted, but because he was still the same Man? A Description of what he suffered, even after he was deposed by that Council, you may see at large in his Life. Theognostus likewise speaks of 'em. So P. Nicholas's Synod alleges in its (a) Decrees against Photius, that he still continued to that very time, to torment Ignatius, and to depose and punish those Bishops that would not joyn with him. (a) Ap. Conc. VIII. p. 1171.

So likewise P. Nicholas in his XIth. Epistle to Photius. 4. As soon as the Emperor Basilus had deposed Photius, tho' Photius as yet had never been condemned by a Council call'd at Constantinople, nor yet by any called any where

(a) *Nicetas V. Ign.*
p. 1232.

Ignatius readily accepts of the See, and not only so, but condemns and (a) rejects both *Photius*, and all those whom he had Ordained, as *no Bishops*? 5. So far were the *Ignatians* from regarding the Authority of Synods, that even after *Ignatius's* Death, tho' *Photius* had been again confirmed by a *General Council* of no

less than 373 Bishops, yet they (b) still continued their Schism, and refused to Communicate. Nay, even after *Photius* was a Second time deposed, and even after his Death, some of 'em still refused to receive those whom *Photius* had Ordain'd. And the Schism does not seem to have been perfectly ended, till the *Tomus Unionis*, or *Synodicon* was published in the Year 920. by which there was an end likewise put to several other Divisions in the Church.

Secondly, I observe that *Ignatius*, and all his Party were great betrayers of the Privileges of the *Constantinopolitan* See. That he might regain his See, he cared not for the Honour of it, but Acted very unworthily of a truly great Man, and (c) appeals from the Council of *Constantinople*, to the Pope of *Rome*. Thus betrays the Honour of his See, and Acts quite contrary to the *Canons* of the II. *General Council*: by which it is Enacted, (d)

(c) *Theognostus*.

(d) *Can. 2.*

That the Affairs of every Province shall be managed by a Synod of that same Province.

Thirdly, In the Third and last place, it is to be observed, that the Reason why the Popes of *Rome*, engaged so zealously against *Photius*, and for the ejected *Ignatius*, was chiefly, because they thought it concerned the Honour of their See. The Pope took upon him to be the chief Judge in Causes relating to Bishops, and to suffer the Emperor to Depose a Patriarch, was to give away (fortho!) his own Super-eminent Prerogative. That all the Proceedings of the Popes in this Matter, were grounded chiefly

(e) *Vide Nicholai P. Epistolam 2. & 8. ad Michaelem Imp. Epistolam ad Photium ap. Conc. VIII. p. 1031, 1032. Epistolam ad Episcopos & Clerum Constantinop. ib. act. 7. Synedum Rom. ib. p. 1074. Verba Hadriani P. II. in Synodo sua ap. Conc. VIII. p. 1091. Stephani P. VI. Ep. ad Basilium Imp. & aliam ejusdem ad Stylianum Neoces. &c.*

(f) *At quia nunc Photium retinentes, prudentissimum virum Ignatium Patriarcham absque nostri Apostolatus judicio, ejecistis, nosse vos omnimodis volumus nullatenus nos Photium recipere vel Ignatium Patriarcham damnare. Ap. Conc. VIII. act. 4. p. 1019.*

on their Pride and Ambition, may be easily gather'd from their so frequently (e) inculcating their Prerogative of being the ultimate Judges of all Bishops, in the Epistles which they wrote concerning this Business; from their so frequently inculcating, That a Bishop ought not to be deposed by any Authority whatever, whether Imperial or Synodical, without the Consent of the See of *S. Peter*. Because (says *P. Nicholas* in an Epistle to the Emperor *Michael*) you (the Synod of *Constantinople*) (f) have deposed the Patriarch *Ignatius*, and confirmed *Photius* in his See without the Authority of our Apostleship, We give you to understand, that we do not either receive *Photius*, or condemn *Ignatius*. And to the Eastern Patriarchs and Bishops, in his Circular Epistle, We require you (says he) not to give your Assent to the Synod called against *Ignatius*, but to Act according

cording to our Sentence. And these things we write, not fearing at all least we may have judg'd amiss. For the See of S. Peter is not to be judg'd by any one, except by him who gave Peter the Keys of the Kingdom. And do you, that you may observe the ancient Customs, neither judge nor approve of any thing without our Authority.

We have now done with the Patriarch Ignatius, but not yet with Photius. He affords us another Example; for tho' he was received by the Church, and confirm'd by a General Council, yet as soon as *Leo Sapiens*, upon his Father *Basilus's* Death, had obtain'd the Empire, he was presently depose'd (a second time) by the Imperial Authority. He being thus depose'd, the Emperor's Brother *Stephen* (a), was prefer'd to his See, and was own'd and receiv'd by the Church. This the Author of the *Baroccian Treatise* observes. 'Tis observ'd by the *Vindicator*, in Answer to that Treatise that *Photius* was not depose'd by the Emperor *Leo*, but resign'd. And this he proves from an Epistle of P. *Stephen V. ad Episcopos Orient.* in which the Pope says, that in a Letter the Emperor had told him, that (b) *Photius quietam vitam elegit. Stylianus* and a Synod had written to the Pope to acquaint him, that *Photius* for certain Crimes was depose'd by the Emperor *Leo*; the Emperor in a Letter of his own, had told the Pope that *Photius* had resign'd: this made the Pope write that Letter to *Stylianus*, and the rest of the Bishops to know of him, how it came to pass, that they so contradicted one another. *Stylianus* and the rest of those Bishops, tell him in their Answer, that they that own'd *Photius* as a Bishop, had sent him word that he had resign'd: but, as for themselves, they did not own him to have been ever a Bishop; and therefore it was that they did not say he had resign'd. This confirms what the *Vindicator* contends for. But notwithstanding all this, it is not true, that *Photius* resign'd. To me it is certain, that he was turned out by the Emperor; The Reason why the Emperor pretended to the Pope that *Photius* had resign'd, was because he dar'd not tell him, that he himself had depose'd him. That he knew the Pope would never approve of, it being in the Judgment of the Popes of those times, the Prerogative of the See of S. Peter to depose a Bishop. And the reason why *Stylianus* and his Bishops writ after that manner in their Answer to the Pope; was, because if they had told the truth, it was like to occasion a great Disturbance in the Church. For the (c) Pope had positively declar'd in his Epistle to 'em, that he would not give his Consent, that *Photius* should be turned out without his special Concurrence. But this you will say, is only Conjecture. What greater Authorities have we, that *Photius* was truly depose'd? I. Answer, we have many.

(a) A very young Man; for it appears by *Leo Gram. p. 470.* that he was a Child, and baptized within twenty Years before, viz. after his Father *Basilus* was Emperor.

(b) In the Greek Epistle *ap. Append. Actorum Græc. Concilii VIII. p. 1408.* he says, That the Emperor had told him, that *Photius* had given in a Resignation written with his own hand.

(c) *Quare nos absque diligentiori rei indagatione nullam possumus sententiam proferre. Quapropter & nuper sententiam disulimus; & oportet ut ab utraque parte reverendissimi Episcopi legati mittantur, ut omni discussa dubitatione, veritatēque ex omnibus partibus explorata, quod Deus suggesserit judicare possimus.*

1. That

(a) Τὸν ἔν Φώπον δια πνας αἰντίας ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ θεῖον καταζαρον, &c.

(b) P. 298. Θέλει ἔν Λέων ἀμυναδαὶ τὸ Σανταβαρανόν, βαλεῖται πρὸς τὸν Φώπον κατέμειν οἰόμεν τὸ αὐτὴν μεγάλως πρὸς τοῦ Σανταβαρανόν, &c.

had conspired with Santabarenus to advance one of his own Family to the Empire. Zonaras. Leo as soon as he was made Emperor, was forthwith bent upon revenge

against Santabarenus. But suspecting that the Patriarch Photius, who was his Friend, would take his part, he (c) invents Accusations against the Patriarch, and thrusts him out of the Church, and banishes him to the Monastery of the Armeniaci.

2. By other Historians he is not only said to be deprived by the Emperor; but there is likewise a particular Relation given of the manner. And in one and the same Relation, they all unanimously agree. The Anonymous Continuator

of the Emperor Constantinus Porphyrogenetus's History, gives us this account of it. The

Emperor (d) (says he) sent Andrew the Captain of his Guards, with Joannes Hagiopolites, to the Church of S. Sophia: who there went up into the Ambo, and in the hearing of all read the Accusations against the Patriarch Photius, and expelled him out of his See, and banished him to the Monastery of the Armeniaci. And the Emperor makes his own Brother Stephen, the Syncellus, Patriarch; who was ordained by Theophanes, Metropolitan of Caesarea, and continued Patriarch Six years, and Five months, then died.

The Emperor (says e) Leo Grammaticus, sent Andrew the Captain of his Guard, and Joannes Hagiopolites the Logotheta Dromi: who went up into the Ambo of the Church, and there read Accusations against Photius the Patriarch, and deposed him, and thrust him into the Monastery of the Armeniaci.--- and promoted his own Brother Stephen to the Throne, who was ordained a little before Christ-

(c) Μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπέστειλεν Ἀνδρέαν Δομεστικὸν τῶν ὁπλῶν ἀμα Ἰωάννη Ἀριοπολίτη σοφωτάτῳ καὶ μερόντι Λογοθέτῳ τῷ Δεξιῷ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἁμβωνί τῇ ἐκκλησίας ἀνελθόντες, καὶ τὰς τῷ πατριάρχῳ Φωτίῳ αἰτίας ἐπαναγνόντες τὸτον τῷ δεξιῷ κατήραρον, καὶ ἀνέγαγον αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῇ Ἀρμενιανῶν, τῇ λεγομένη τῇ Βόρδῳ. ἀνήγαγον ὃ Στήφανον αὐτὸ ἀδελφὸν ἐν τῷ πατριάρχῳ, καὶ πρὸς τῷ Χεῖρ ἵεραν χειροτονεῖται πατριάρχῳ ὑπὸ Θεοφάνῃ τῷ πρωτοδεξιῷ καὶ λοιπῶν ἀρχιερέων, &c.

mas,

mas, by Theophanes the first Metropolitian (of Caesarea) and the rest of the Bishops. The same Leo tells us, that Photius (a) died in Banishment. The Emperor Leo (says Georgius Cedrenus) being come to the Throne, immediately resolv'd to be reveng'd on Santabarenius: and first of all, he set upon Photius to depose him, because he knew that if he continu'd Patriarch, he would defend Santabarenius, and besides, there was a report, that Photius had conspired with Santabarenius, to destroy him, and to advance one of his own Family to the imperial Throne. He accordingly sent Andreas, &c. Having told us how he was deposed and banish'd, agreeing exactly with the Authors already quoted, he adds, that Stephen was (b) immediately constituted in his Room.

(a) P. 472. 'Εν ἑξορῇ πλεονήσαντο πατρίως παλειάρχης ἀποτίθη το σῶμα αὐτὸ ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῇ λαγαρίων ἡ Ερημίας ἐν τῷ Μεγίστῳ καὶ πρῶτον καὶ ἀποκαταστάσας.

bad conspired with Santabarenius, to destroy him, and to advance one of his own Family to the imperial Throne. He accordingly sent Andreas, &c. Having told us how he was deposed and banish'd, agreeing exactly with the Authors already quoted, he adds, that Stephen was (b)

(b) Καὶ πόδας ὁ Στέφανος—παλειάρχην ἀνέβησεν.

3. It appears by the Minutes of the Tryal of Photius and Santabarenius, which happened a little after Photius was ejected, that Photius had never resign'd. 'Twas expected at that Tryal, (which, by the by, was only before Lay-Lords) That Santabarenius would have accused Photius of High Treason; and he was ask'd by one of the Judges concerning a Promise he had made the Emperor to accuse him; upon which he fell down upon his Knees before Photius, with these words: (c) My Lord, I conjure you by God, to depose me and degrade me from my Priesthood, and then let 'em punish me as a Malefactor, for I never told the Emperor any such thing. To which Photius made this Answer; By the Salvation of my Soul, my Lord Theodorus, you are an Archbishop, both in this World and in the World to come. Thus the Continuator of Constantinus Porphyrogenetus, Leo Grammaticus, and Cedrenus. By Santabarenius's desiring Photius to depose him, it is very manifest, that he accounted him his Patriarch, and that Photius lookt upon himself as such, may be gather'd from his Answer.

(c) P. 219. 'Ο ὃ παρ' εὐδο τῆς ποί τῷ παλειάρχῃ ἀνέβησεν, ἀπὸν. Οὐκ ἔστι σε δέσποτα, καὶ τὸ Θεῷ, ἵνα πρῶτον με καθαιρήσῃς, καὶ τότε γυμνὸν με ὄψῃς ἱερουσύνης, ὡς κακῶρον ὄντα κολάζεσθαι. ἢ ὃ ταυτὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐδήλωσεν. ὁ δὲ παλειάρχης ἔφη, Μὴ τὴν σαλῶσάν ἐμὴς ψυχῆς, Κύριε Θεοδωρε, ἀρχιεπίσκοπε εἰ, καὶ ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι, καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι.

4. It's asserted by all the three Authors last quoted, That the Emperor was extremely enrag'd at that disappointment (d), because he could not get a sufficient Accusation against the Patriarch: If he had resign'd, what should make the Emperor so malicious against him? The Accusations for which he had been deposed, were thought insufficient, the Emperor therefore, endeavour'd to have other and greater things made out against him, that he might not be accused of Injustice in deposing him.

(d) 'Ο ὃ βασιλεὺς θυμῶτε καὶ, ὀργῇ ἀκαταστάτῳ ληθεῖς ὡς μὴ εὐρὺν αἰτίαν καὶ τὸ παλειάρχῃς. Leo. Gram.

5. It appears from the Emperor's own express words in his Speech which he made to *Stylianus* and other Bishops, &c. after he had deposed *Photius*, that *Photius* did not resign, but was properly deposed. The Speech is recorded in the *Appendix to the Greek Acts of the VIII Council*. The Author of that

(a) Καὶ ἐρευνήσας πάσας τὰς κακοσεβείας Φωτίου, εὐθείας ἀνεκάλισατο πάντας τὸς ἱερεῖς ἃ ἀληθείας, τὸς ἀπὸ Φωτίου τὸ ἀναίσεμα-πομένους πικρῶς διαχθέντας, ἐκδιδώσας ἃ πύξενον καὶ ἐπὶ ἀπερὸ Φωτίου, καὶ ἐκταραχῶν Στέφανον ἃ γνήσιον ἀδελφόν, p. 1397.

(b) Φησὶ πρὸς αὐτὸς· ἡ ἐκ Θεῶ βασιλεία ἡμῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ζητήσασα, ἃ ἐξέκοιμον ἀνδρα τὸ θεῖον ἀπίλασε, καὶ ἃ καθ' ὑμῶν διαγωγὸν ἔταυσε, &c.

Appendix having first asserted in his own words, That the Emperor (a) *expell'd Photius for his Crimes*, adds, That having called *Stylianus* and many others, whom *Photius* had persecuted, together, he spoke these words to 'em (b), *Our Imperial Majesty, which proceeds from God, having well weighed and considered the matter, has driven that wicked Man from his Throne, and delivered you from your Persecution, &c.*

I take no notice of what the *Vindicator* says, concerning the new *Patriarch Stephen*, that since he was brought up and instructed by *Photius*, it is not likely that he would have accepted of the See, if *Photius* had not resign'd. There is no strength in that. Ambition, or obedience to the Emperor his Brother, might be a sufficient Motive.

By what I but now observ'd concerning *Santabarennus*, it should seem that he did not at the time of that *Trial*, own the *Patriarch Stephen*. But tho' He, as *Photius's* Creature and very great Friend, did not at that time own him: yet certain it is, that the *Church* in general did. Hence in the *Synodicon*, or *Tome of Unionis*, which was published in the Year

(c) Apud jus Græco-Rom. producitur idem locus àπὸ τῶ Συνοδικῷ ex (libello) Synodico, non à Synodico confectu quod vertit clarif. Interpreter, ap. Pandect. Bevereg. tom. 2. p. 292.

920. (c) *May the Memory of Ignatius, Photius, Stephanus, Antonius, Nicholas, the most holy Patriarchs, be everlasting. Whatsoever has been either written, or spoken against the most holy Patriarchs Germanus, Nicephorus, and Methodius, Ignatius, Photius, Stephanus, Antonius, be Anathema.* 'Tis true, that there was

some *Schism* on his Account, may be gather'd from this very thing, because his Name is in that *Tome*: But then it does not appear, that that *Schism* was occasioned by his being put into *Photius's* place. We know that he had been ordain'd *Deacon* by *Photius*, we likewise know, that there were some in his time, that refused to own any that had been ordain'd by *Photius*: and this I take to be the true Reason, why *Stephen* is mentioned in the *Tome*: the rather because even his Successor *Antonius*, whose Circumstances were not the same, is likewise mentioned. They were both (I suppose) disowned by such as did not allow of *Photius's* Ordinations. We must not forget, that *Leo Grammaticus* has told us, that the *Patriarch Stephen* was consecrated *Patriarch*, by the chief Metropolitan of the District, and the rest of the Bishops, i. e. by a great many.

I shall conclude this Chapter, or rather *Dissertation*, concerning *Photius*, with the Testimony of *Aretas*, Archbishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*; from which it may appear, not only that he was accounted an excellent Man, but that he was likewise violently deposed. *Aretas* in an Oration, which he made at the Sepulcher of *Euthymius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who was deposed Twenty five Years after *Photius's* last Deprivation, and was used so barbarously, as that he died a little after, (a) *O the Power* (says he) *of the High-priests of God, That rejoice with those that have suffered Injuries for the sake of Vertue, that with Abel art obnoxious to Envy, That, as Jacob heretofore, art constantly tormented by Competitors, That art murder'd as James was for the sake of the Jews, That with the holy Athanasius art thrust out of thy Throne, With Paul (Patriarch of Constantinople) art adorned with the Shackles of Banishment, and, as this holy Patriarch, by the Bonds of a Confessor, That together with Nicephorus and PHOTIUS, those most famous Men, art graced with Expulsions and Deaths.*

(a) *O potestatem Pontificum Dei, quæ unâ cum iis, qui virtutis causâ perpeffi injurias sunt, lætitia exultas, unâ cum Abel invidia obnoxia es, unâ cum antiquo illo Jacob ab amulis assidue vexaris, unâ cum Zacharia jugularis, unâ cum Jacobo in gratiam Judæorum martiris, unâ cum D. Athanasio*

è sedibus tuis exturbaris, unâ cum Paulo exilii pedicis, quemadmodum hic confessionis, honestatis unâ cum Nicephoro (ab Imp. Leone Armeno violenter ejecto) ac PHOTIO, viris clarissimis, fugis ac moribus decoraris, &c.

CHAP. XV.

Nicolaus Mysticus, Patriarch of Constantinople; not deprived by a Synod, as the Vindicator contends, but by the Emperor (Leo the Wise) §. 1. Joseph Bishop of Brixia in Italy deposed without any Synod by King Berengarius, yet his Successor Antony is own'd and receiv'd by the Church, particularly by the Pope, the Synods of Augspurg and Ravenna; and continued in the See many years. §. 2. Basilus Camaterus, and Nicetas Muntanes, Patriarchs of Constantinople, deposed without any Synod by the Emperor Isaacius Angelus, yet no Division in the Church on their account. §. 3, 4. The Patriarchs of the present Greek Church very frequently deprived by the Turk, yet no Division in the Church. As great Reason to submit to the present Possessor here, as in the Greek Church. The Necessity the same.

After the Death of the Patriarch Stephen, Antonius Cauleas succeeded in the See of Constantinople, and after his Death Nicolaus Mysticus, or the Secretary of State, was made Patriarch. In his time the Emperor Leo, contrary to the Canons of the Church, married a fourth Wife, for which he excommunicated him; and because he refused to take off the Excommunication, was deposed by him.

The Vindicator would needs persuade us, that he was not deposed by the Emperor, but by a Synod: The Author he quotes for it is Eutychius or Said Ebn Barick, who is so far from affirming, and likewise from intimating, what the Vindicator contends for, that he (a) plainly intimates the contrary. But whatever Authors the Vindicator thinks fit to make use of, we know the Authority of Eutychius to be so contemptible, and we know him to be so erroneous, particularly in what he says rela-

(a) Annal. Arab. ro. 2. p. 484. Porro cum Leoni Imp. Romano mortua esset Uxor nullâ reliââ prole, aliam ille uxorem ducere voluit; at prohibuit ipsum Nicolaus Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus, dicens, Non est tibi licitum uxorem ducere; siquidem Anagnostes es & precibus Sacerdotum consecratus; quod si uxorem duxeris non licet tibi ad altare accedere. Cui Leo; Uxorem ducere cupio quò sit mihi filius qui post me regnum hereditario possideat. At non permisit ipsi Patriarcha conjugium. Scripsit ergo Leo Imp. ad Patriarcham Romanum, Michaellem Patriarcham Alexandrinum, Eliam Mansuri F. Patriarcham Hierosolymitanum, & Symeonem Zarnaki F. Antiochenum, rogans ut ad ipsum accederent, quò dispicerent, liceret, necne ipsi uxorem ducere: At noluit eorum quispiam ad ipsum accedere, nisi quòd singuli nomine suo Legatum mitterent. Ac Legatis se adjuungentes Episcopi quidam Constantinopolitani, de negotio Imperatoris dispicientes, matrimonium ipsi licitum pronunciarunt: quare uxorem duxit, natusque est ipsi filius quem Constantinum appellavit. Cùmque Nicolaum Patriarcham Cathedra abdicasset, constitutus est ipsius loco Anthimus (Euthymius) Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus. 'Tis plain that Eutychius makes the Synod to sit before Constantinus (Porphyrogenetus) was begot, and Nicolaus to be deprived (as indeed he was) after he was born: and besides he expressly says that the Emperor did it.

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ting to the Emperor *Leo* and the Patriarch *Nicolaus*, That, tho' he makes directly against the Vindicator, yet we *scorn* to produce him as a Witness. Neither indeed have we need. That the Patriarch *Nicolaus* was deposed by the Emperor, is positively asserted by the Emperor's Son, *Constantinus Porphyrogenetus*. He says (a) his Father deposed him as a Lye and a perjurd

(a) *Præf. ad Totum Unionis apud Jm Græco-Rom. p. 104.*

Man, because he had several times promised and sworn that he would absolve him, and yet refused to do it. We have other very good and authentick Writers that give us so particular an account of the whole matter, that there's nothing can be more manifest, than that there was not any Synod concern'd. The Historian *Leo Grammaticus*, after a Relation given us of the Emperor's being excommunicated, adds, That *Samonas*, a very

ill Man, being made the Gentleman of the Bed-chamber (b), the Emperor and He laid their Heads together to depose the Patriarch; and sending for him on the first of February, desired him to restore 'em to the Church: Which when he refus'd to do, they order'd him to be put into a Boat and to be carried to Hieria, from whence he went on foot through the Snow to Galacreni.

In his place Euthymius the Syncellus was ordain'd. So word for word the (c) *Anonymous Continuator* of *Constantinus Porphyrogenetus*.

And (d) *Georgius Cedrenus* agrees exactly with 'em. Neither does *Zonaras* differ from 'em.

(e) *Samonas* (says he) urged the Emperor to do many things against his Duty, among other things to force the Patriarch to absolve him.

The Emperor therefore sending for the Patriarch, desired to be absolv'd: which the Patriarch refusing to do, he was immediately carried over to Iria, from whence they led him on foot to the Monastery in Galacrenæ which he himself had built, after he had govern'd the Church XI. Years. And Euthymius the Syncellus was made Patriarch.

(b) Περὶ βαλῆν δὲ Σαμωνᾶς κα-
καϊομένου διὰ τὸ ἦν τῷ βασι-
λεὶ συναγρός περὶ πᾶσαν παρρη-
σίαν καὶ καλῶν καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας
ἡγεσθαι μέλει. ἀντὶ τούτου καλεσάμε-
νοι αὐτὸν Νικηλάου Πατρὸς Φιλοθεοῦ
ἀποστόλην, καὶ πολλὰ ἀπεικασάμε-
νοι ἐπὶ πείσαι καὶ ἡλικίᾳ
ἔχοντα ἀπὸ τοῦ Κλητορίου διὰ τοῦ Βυ-
κολεόντιον ἐν πλοίῳ μικρῷ ἐμβι-
βάσαντες, διεπέρασαν ἐν τῇ Ἱερῇ
ἀφ' ἧς περὶ καὶ μετὰ Γαλακρήνων
μολὸν ἀπῆλθον, ἔχοντες ὅππῃ αὐτὸν
πολλοὶς χειροτονεῖται δὲ αὐτὸν
αὐτὸς Εὐθύμιον Σύγκελλον.

(c) Pag. 228.

(d) Pag. 602.

(e) *Annal. l. 16. c. 13.* "Ὅς εἰς
πολλὰ ἤν' ἐκαθάρκων τὸν Αυτο-
κράτορα περιβίβαζεν, ὃν ἐν τῇ
το βιάσασθαι τὴν Πατριαρχίαν, διε-
δάσαι αὐτὸν, καὶ τὴν ἀποστείλαι ἀπολύ-
σαι. Μεταπειλάμενος ἔν τ' Ἀρ-
χιερεῖα ὁ Βασιλεὺς, ἐδεδίτο δεχθῆ-
ναι. Ὅς δ' ἐκείνῳ ἦν ἀδύνατον
ἵνα ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ δια-

περγῇ πρὸς τὴν Ἱερίαν, κακῶς περὶ τοῦτον εἰς τὸ ἐν Γαλακρήναις ἀγνοῖν αὐτὸν
μοναστήριον, ὃ αὐτὸς ἐδομίσθη, ἐπὶ περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐνδεκά, περιχευεῖσθαι δὲ
Πατριαρχῆς δὲ Σύγκελλον Εὐθύμιον.

But the Knot that the Vindicator would cut, I will fairly untie for him. The whole Truth is this: The Patriarch *Nicolaus* was first deposed by the Emperor, but, before Euthymius was made Patriarch in his room, he re-
sign'd; tho' he does not seem to have regarded his Resignation. That he did

(a) *Haud ita multo post vehemens Ecclesiam tempestas invasit, quam ejus, cujus tum manu gubernacula erant, temeraria arrogantia excitarat: in quo quidem tumultu cum Autor ejus ille qui fuerat, animam despondisset, eoque sacri sui honoris reputati libellum Ecclesie dedisset, malus male obiit. Aderat unus is (Euthymius) idoneus, qui desertum id ab eo munus suscipere.*

resign, I gather from the (a) Oration which *Aretas*, Archbishop of *Casarea*, spoke in praise of *Euthymius*: which the *Vindicator* does not seem to have read. But since of our own accord we give away this Example, to what purpose has there been so much said concerning it? To that I answer: That I therefore thought fit to lay open this Error of the *Vindicator*, not because I have thereby demonstrated a Truth: For in a Treatise which should be *Logical*, to endeavour to make out

an *impertinent* Truth, is to discover either want of Judgment, or want of Argument: But because the *Vindicator* does not seem, methinks, to have discovered any great *Ingenuity* in what he says, concerning *Nicolaus's* Deprivation. Since he thought fit to quote so bad an Author as *Eutychius*, one that he himself perfectly contemns, how came it to pass that he did not think fit to tell his Reader what the Authentic *Greek* Authors say? It is certain he had read 'em: But he knew not how to answer this Example without a little of *Shuffle*. He knew that the good *Greek* Authors made directly against his Evasion. The Cause I have undertaken to defend, does not need any *Disingenuities*. If it did, I should leave it to some other to be its *Vindicator*.

§. 2. In the Year 950, or 951, *Joseph* (by some call'd *Confus*) Bishop of *Brixia* in *Italy*, was deposed by the Tyrannical King *Berengarius* without any manner of Synod, as (b) *Luitprandus Tici-*

(b) *Hist. sui temporis l. 5. c. 13. Hac in tempore Joseph quidam meribus senex, diebus juvenis, Civitatis Brixiana clarebat Episcopus. Quem Berengarius, ut erat Dei tyrannus vehemens, ob morum probitatem Episcopatu privavit: Ejusque loco Antonium, qui nunc usque superest, nullo Consilio habito nullâ Episcoporum deliberatione constituit.*

(c) *Cap. seg.*

(d) *Antonio Brixienfis Ecclesie Episcopo. Concil. to. 9. p. 635.*

(e) *Ibid. p. 678.*

(f) *Ibid. p. 676.*

nenfis, who flourish'd (c) immediately after in *Berengarius's* Court, as his *Secretary*, expressly attests. Tho' *Joseph* was thus deposed, yet *Antony*, whom the King made Bishop in his room, was own'd and receiv'd by the Church. This appears, first, from *Luitprandus*, who says he was at that time Bishop of *Brixia* when he wrote his History. *Qui nunc usque superest*. By which he must mean that he still continued Bishop of *Brixia* to that time. For if he had been deposed at that time, he would have mention'd it, not have us'd those words. 2. From the Preface to the Decrees of the Synod of *Augsburg*, held in the Year 952, in which our (d) *Antony* Bishop of *Brixia* is reckon'd among the Bishops that sat in that Synod. 3. From the Subscriptions of the Council of *Ravenna*, held in the Year 967, in which we read: (e) *Antonius Brixienfis Ecclesie Episcopus consensit & subscripsit*. 4. From the Subscriptions to Pope *John* the thirteenth's (f) *Diploma* against *Heroldus* Archbishop of *Salis-*

Salisbury, sent to the Bishops of that Council, and by them subscribed; among whom he is one.

§. 3. In the Reign of *Isaacius Angelus*, who was Emperor but nine Years, began 1185, and ended 1194, there were at least three Patriarchs deposed without any *Synod*. The Emperor *Isaacius Angelus* (says the Author of the *Barocian Treatise*) finding *Basilius Camaterus* in the Patriarchal Chair, deposed him without any just cause, and promoted *Nicetas* the Chaplain of the Church to the See. In Answer to this, the *Vindicator* tells us, That the Reason why he was deposed was a Matter of Ecclesiastical Cognisance, and therefore 'tis probable that he was deposed by a *Synod*. But what says *Nicetas Choniates* in his History of *Isaacius Angelus*? He plainly intimates the contrary, that he was violently deposed by the Emperor (a): As the violence (says he) and

power of Emperors is not wont to be restrain'd till they have alter'd and chang'd all things, both divine and human, according to their pleasure; so *Isaacius*, when he came to the Crown, deposed *Basilius Camaterus* from the Patriarchal Chair, tho' he had been the chief Instrument in his promotion to the Imperial Crown. The Reason pretended, was, That he had freed those noble Women from their confinement, whom (the late Emperor) *Andronicus* had made Nuns against their Wills. In his room he substituted *Nicetas Muntanes*, the Chaplain of the great Church. The same account we have in *Nicephorus Callisti* his MS. Catalogue of the Patriarch's of Constantinople. He tells us that (b) *Basilius Camaterus* was made Patriarch by *Andronicus* and deposed by *Isaacius Angelus* that he might not crown another Emperor after he had crown'd him: But the Emperor's pretence (says he) was this, That he had given a Lady who had thrown off her (Nuns) habit which she had been forced to put on, his Benediction. Of any Division in the Church on the account of this Deprivation, there is no mention made. And the same is true of the Instance following.

μήπως ἔτερον σέψῃ ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν ἔσεψῃ· ἡ δὲ πρόφασις αὐτῆς ὅτι εἰς κεφαλὴν γυναικὸς εὐχάρις ἀποβαλλομένης τὰ ῥάκη αὐτῆς ἐκείνα ἐνδεδυλὸ ἐυλοχίαν ἐποίησε· ἱερῶταυτε δὲ ἐπὶ δόξῃ.

§. 4. After a little time *Nicetas* himself was deposed as unfit to govern by reason of his Old age. The *Vindicator* tells us from the Catalogue of Patriarchs that is extant in the *Jus Græco-Romanum*, that *Nicetas resign'd*: But what says *Nicetas Choniates*, a much better Author? He tells us expressly that he was deposed

(a) L. 2. η. 4. ὁπῶτα δὲ ὁ τῶν Βασιλέων ὄρεσθ' καὶ ἰσχύς ἔκταν ἀνεχόμενη μὴ ἔχ' ὥς αὐτοῖς αἰετὶν μεταφέρειν καὶ ἀλλοῦν τὰ θεὰ τε καὶ ἀνθρώπινα πράγματα, βασιλεύσας Ἰσαάκιος τὸ παλαιάρχου θρόνον παρέλκυε καὶ Καματέρον Βασίλειον, καίτοι πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν τὰ μέγιστα συναρμόζον· αἰτία δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς καθαιρεσεως ὅτι αὐτὸς ἀνδρόνικῳ ὅττι εὐχολογῶν γυναικῶν ἔχ' ἐκείνας ἀπέχευε μοναζέσας, ταύτας αὐτὸς ἐνέδωκε τὸ μέλαν ἀποδύσασθαι ἄμμιον, καὶ πρὸς τὴν πρεσβύτην μεταβλέψαι καὶ ζῶν καὶ σελήν· πρεσβαλλόμενος δ' αὐτὸς αὐτὸς παλαιάρχον καὶ Μηνιάνην Νικητῆαν, τῆς μεγίστης ἐκκλησίας οὐρα σακελλάειον.

(b) Βασίλειος· διάκονος καὶ χαρτοφύλακος τῆς μεγίστης ἐκκλησίας ὁ πρεσβύτης Καματῆρος ὁ καὶ φυλακ... (Mr. Dodwel in a Transcript of his reads, ὁ σφύλακ, Dr. Langbain, ὁ καὶ φυλακός; to me it seems to be something like this, ὁ καὶ φυλακαβας or φυλακαβος) λεγόμενος, χόρον μὲν ἐπὶ Ἀνδρόνικῳ, κατεβιβάδην δὲ ὑπὸ Ἰσαάκιῳ τῷ Ἀγγέλῳ.

(a) Ibid. ἐν τῷ
τελευτῶν τῷ
θεῖνῳ πατριᾷ ἐνα-
ποθεῖται, ἀλλ' ἀφί-
λειαν καὶ κυριότητα κα-
ταργῶν τῷ ἀνδρὶ, καὶ
ῥήμας ἐπὶ καλέσας
ἀντικληστον, καὶ ἀκού-
σα τῷ θεῖνῳ ἀπο-
φασίζοντι.

deposed by the Emperor against his will. But neither (says (a) he) did the Emperor suffer this Man, so old as he was, to die Patriarch; but alleging, that by reason of his age and simplicity, he was not fit to be Patriarch, he expell'd him the See against his will. And that he did not resign, may be confirm'd from *Nicephorus Callisti* his MS. Catalogue of Patriarchs: For he mentions that his Successor *Leontius* resign'd, but of *Nicetas* he says no such thing: If he had known any such thing, he would doubtless have mention'd it, since he takes care to tell us that his Successor did so;

and since he takes care likewise to tell us, that *Theodosius Barradiotes*, *Basilius Camaterus*'s Predecessor, and several others, did so. I here observe that the Greek Verb παρσίνεω, which is used concerning the Patriarch *Nicetas* in the Catalogue of the *ſus Græco-Romanum*, tho' it properly denotes a Resignation, yet was used sometimes for *amist*, he lost his Bishoprick. It seems to be used in this sense by *Nicephorus Callisti* in his MS. Catalogue, where he speaks concerning *Dositheus* Patriarch of Jerusalem, his being translated from the See of Jerusalem to that of Constantinople, and of his being deposed at Constantinople, because Translations from one See to another were repugnant to the *Canons*. Κατεβιβάζει, καὶ εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα μὴ δεχθεὶς, καὶ αὐποτίεις τὸς θεῖνους παρσίνεω. Which *Nicetas Choniates* expresses after this manner. He was deposed (says he) at Constantinople, and suffer'd in the same manner with *Ætop's Dog*, being deprived of the See of Constantinople, and losing likewise that of Jerusalem, which was then possess'd by another.

§. 5. After these times we read of no Patriarch deposed by the Emperor's bare Authority, as long as Constantinople was in the hands of the Christians. For *Leontius*, *Nicetas*'s Successor was not barely deposed by the Emperor, but after he was deposed, resign'd. What the Condition of the Patriarchs of Constantinople and the other Eastern Patriarchs, has all along been, and is to this day, under the *Turks*; that there are few Patriarchs of Constantinople that die possess'd of their See, few that are not depriv'd by the *Grand Seigneur*'s bare Authority, is too notorious to be prov'd. We have reason to believe, that for these 230 Years, from the time of *Joasaphus Cusas*, the third Patriarch after Constantinople was taken by the *Turks*, who was deposed by the Sultan *Mahomet the Great*, there has been no space of time without several Patriarchs alive together: And 'tis very notorious, that in the Years 1669, and 1670, there

(b) Dr. Smith in his account of the Greek Church, p. 81, 82, 83. See *Grelar's Voyage to Constantinople*, p. 138, 139, 140. were no less than (b) four or five Patriarchs of Constantinople living.

The Examples of these Patriarchs of the present Greek Church, I do not here mention, as if I thought they deserved for their Learning or Wisdom to be Guides and Patterns to the Bishops of England: But this is the use I would make of it. I would fain know of our Adversaries, Whether they think an ejected Patriarch of Constantinople would do well, if, after he was deposed, he should separate from the Communion of his Successor, and make a Division in the Church? I can hardly believe but that such a Separation would be condemn'd

demn'd by even our *Adversaries* themselves. And how then can they justify their own Separation, they who refuse to communicate with their Successors, because they themselves are deposed by the *Secular Power*? There is one Question more, to which I desire a *positive Answer*: It is certain, that when the Patriarch of *Constantinople* is deposed by the *Sultan*, the Church submits immediately to the Successor, without asking the Old Patriarch's leave: Whether he will give his Consent or not, she is not at all concern'd. Now this is the Question I would ask: *Is the Greek Church therefore Schismatical*? If the ejected Patriarch should actually lay claim to his See, *would the Church be Schismatical for adhering to the present Possessor*? If they say, it would not: Why then are We *Schismaticks* in adhering to our present Possessors? Will they say that the *Greeks* lie under a greater *Necessity*? So one of our *Adversaries* seems to intimate. I cannot see (says * he) that * Unity of Priest-hood, p. 39.
 either the Case of the Jews in our Saviour's time, or the Case of the present Greek Church runs parallel to ours; for the Jews for many years before had been under the Roman Yoke, and so have the Greeks for many Centuries of years under the Turks; both despoil'd of their Rights and Customs, and so far at Mercy, that it was well for the Jew that he could have any Priest, and for the Greeks that they have any Christianity. But our Author does not consider, that the Question may be ask'd as well concerning those Jews who first submitted to a High-priest put in by the Romans, and concerning those Greeks who first submitted to a Patriarch, ordain'd in the place of another deposed by the Turk, as concerning the Jews in our Saviour's time, or the Greeks of these times. Neither does he consider, that the lastingness of an Oppression adds nothing at all to the strength of a present Necessity: If Necessity will excuse an Action a hundred Years after the beginning of an Oppression, 'twould as well excuse in the very beginning of it. 'Tis as strong in the beginning as afterwards. But the Jews (says our Author) were at the Mercy of the Romans, and the present Greeks are at the Mercy of the Turks. We grant it: and that's the Necessity we plead. How does that make our Case not to be parallel? Is not the Church of England as much at the Mercy of the King and Parliament here, as the Jews were at the Mercy of the Romans, or as the Greeks are at the Mercy of the Turk? Is not the King and Parliament as powerfull here, as the Romans in Judaea, or the Grand Seignior at Constantinople? If Necessity will excuse them; our Necessity is the same, and that will justify us.

C H A P. XVI.

*The Sentence of an Uncanonical Synod, esteemed by the Antients invalid. S Chrysoſtom Patriarch of Conſtantinople, unjuſtly and invalidly depoſed by a Synod. He declares however at firſt, againſt all Separation from the Church on his Account. He afterwards yields to Reſentment, and reſuſes to Communicate with his Succeſſors, Arſacius, and Atticus, becauſe they had been his Enemies, and had a hand in his Deprivation. The Joannites acted by their Paſſions, not by Principles. They ſeparate from the Church, not becauſe there was another made Patriarch in S. Chryſoſtom's place, but before that was done. Arſacius being made Patriarch they reſuſe to Communicate with him, not becauſe he was put into S. Chryſoſtom's place, but through Hatred againſt St. Chryſoſtom's Depoſers, becauſe they frequented his Churches. Pope Innocent of Rome, not conſiſtent with himſelf. His Practice contradicts his Words. He did not think Arſacius and Atticus no Biſhops. His Zeal for the Honour of his own See, the chief Cauſe of his Oppoſing 'em. He at laſt receives Atticus as a true Patriarch : The Vindicator's Exception againſt the Tranſlation of the word *ἐκπαίδευτος* in the Barroccian Treatiſe, confuted. The Eaſtern Biſhops reſuſe to ſeparate from the Communion of the Church, tho' S. Chryſoſtom laid Claim to his See, and actually ſeparated, and tho' they eſteemed his Deprivation invalid. So did the Monks of Egypt. The Teſtimony of S. Nicon, out of a MS. S. Nicon himſelf, tho' he eſteemed his Deprivation extremely unjuſt ; yet approves of thoſe that did not ſeparate on his Account. S. Chryſoſtom takes it for granted, as a thing of Courſe, that all would immediately reſolve to chooſe a new Patriarch in his room. The Patriarch Atticus highly eſteemed by the whole African Church. The Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian, Socrates, diſapproves of S. Chryſoſtom's Deprivation ; yet ſpeaks of Arſacius and Atticus, as of true Patriarchs. Theodoret extremely offended at the Injuſtice of his Depoſers, yet reckons both Arſacius and Atticus among the Patriarchs of Conſtantinople. They are both owned in all the Catalogues of the Patriarchs. Their Ordinations never queſtioned by any. Atticus praiſed by P. Celeſtine I. and owned to be a true Succeſſor of S. Chryſoſtom.*

I Have now concluded my *History of the Church's Submission to Biſhops put into the places of others depoſed by the Secular Power.* I have brought it down from the firſt *High-prieſt* that ever was depoſed by the *Secular Power*, i. e. from the Reign of King Solomon, to theſe very times, and have ſhewed, That the Behaviour of the Jews under their *High-prieſts*, and of the Antient *Chriſtians* under their *Biſhops*, was agreeable to the preſent Practice of

of our Church. To make this History the more complete, I shall now shew, That the same was the general Practice of the Antients in respect to Bishops put into the places of others *unjustly* and *uncanonically* deposed by *Synods*, where the *Secular Power* concurr'd as executing the sentence of the Bishops. I say, *where the Secular Power concurred in executing the Sentence of the Bishops*; for whatever the *Vindicator*, and others, are pleas'd to tell us concerning *Synodical* Deprivations, it is easie to shew, That the Antients never regarded the *Decree* or *Sentence* of an *Uncanonical Synod*, if the *Civil Government* did not *force* 'em to submit by taking upon him to excuse the *Sentence*.

It is not every *Synod* that has power by the *Canons* of the Church to depose a Bishop, and the Sentence of an *Uncanonical Synod*, is by the *Canons* as *invalid* as if it were no *Synod* at all. In the Fifth Canon of the General Council of *Nice*, there is a plain Intimation that the Affairs of every *Province*, ought to be managed by the Bishops of the respective *Provinces*: and by the Second *Can.* of the General Council of *Constantinople*, 'tis expressly ordain'd, That no *Metropolitan* should go out of his own *District* to concern himself in the Affairs of another *District* (except in a General Council.) So when *Theophilus* Patriarch of *Alexandria* was accused to the Emperor *Arcadius* of certain great Crimes, and the Emperor commanded him to make his Appearance at *Constantinople*, to be tryed there by *S. Chrysostom* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, he sent *S. Chrysostom* a Letter, in which he alleged, That he could not be Judge of his Cause, that (a) the Affairs of every Province ought to be managed only by the Bishops of the respective Province. And *S. Chrysostom* tells *P. Innocent*, that when *Theophilus* came to *Constantinople*, and the Emperor commanded him to call him before him as his Judge, he refused to do it, because he knew (b), that by the *Canons* he could not do it.

(a) Μη δὲν ὑπερ-
είας ἐλκεται τὰς δι-
καιο, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ ἰδίαις
ἐπαρχίαις τὰ ᾧ ἐπι-
χρῶν γυνάξεται. *S.*
Chryf. Ep. ad P. In-
nocent. ap. Pallad. V.
ejus p. 13.

τὰς νόμους ᾧ πλείον καὶ ᾧ ἀνδρα αἰδούμενοι— ἐ κατέδικάζαμεθα δικάσαι, ἀλλὰ
μὴ πολλὰς παρηπισάμεθα τὸ σπουδάζειν.

(b) Ἄλλ' ἡμεῖς

'Twas contrary to this Law of the Church, that *S. Chrysostom* himself was deposed, and that too by *Theophilus* himself, who had pleaded that Law. The Circumstances of *S. Chrysostom's* Deprivation were these. *Theophilus* being at *Constantinople*, instead of being judged by *S. Chrysostom*, was encouraged by *S. Chrysostom's* Enemies, particularly by the Empress *Eudoxia*, to summon Him before him, and to Depose him. He packs a *Synod* consisting of (c) Twenty nine Bishops of *Egypt*, whom he brought with him, and Seven others of other Countries, and, several malicious Accusations being preferred against him by his Enemies, cites him to appear, before he himself had cleared himself from the Crimes charged upon him, (d) which was contrary to all *Canons* and *Laws*. *S. Chrysostom* sends him word, that he was ready to appear before a lawful and impartial *Synod*, but,

(c) *Pallad. p. 23.*

(d) *S. Chrysost.*
ib. p. 13. Ὁ ἀδελ-
φὲ καὶ ὁ ἀγα-
θὸς πάντας νόμους ἔχων.

(a) Ib. p. 14. Πῶς αὖ
 εἰν δικάσῃ δὲ τὸ πᾶ
 δικά: ὃ δέσπον ἀνα-
 σῆναι, ἔδαμῶν αὐ-
 τοῦ προσήκοντα; ἔ-
 τε γὰρ ἀκόλουθον ἦν
 τὸ εἰς Αἰγύπτου εἰς
 Θεῶφίλου διχάζειν, καὶ
 τὸ ἐπεύθυνον ὄντα
 αἰνῶν, καὶ ἐκδεῖν,
 καὶ παλῶν.

(b) *Ibid.* p. 16.

to Alexandria, together with most of his Bishops. But after a little time S. Chrysostom's Enemies prevail again. They gather a Synod at Constantinople and depose him, by a Canon of the Synod of Antioch, for presuming to act as a Bishop, after he had been deposed by a Synod. He's accordingly expell'd a Se-

(c) Pallad p. 19.
 71, 82.

in which he died Three years, and Three Months after his Expulsion.

A little while after, Asfacius, Brother to Nestarius his Predecessor, was ordain'd his Successor: who died (d) November 11. 405.

(d) *Sacr.* l. 6. c. 20.

(e) Two Years,
 say Nicephorus Patri-
 arch, Nicephorus Cal.
 Catal. MS. Theopha-

nes, the Catalogues in the *Jus Græco-Rom.* and the First Vol. of the *Byzantine Hist.* Palladius, whose Authority is greater than all, p. 94. allows him but fourteen Months, so the *Baroccian Treatise*. And hence it appears, That he was made Patriarch, not, as *Socrates* says, Within a few Days after S. Chrysostom's expulsion, but three Months after.

(f) *Sacr. lib.* 20. c. 18.

(g) In Febr. A. D. 406. *Sozomen* l. 8. c. 27. says, He was made Patriarch in the Fourth Month after Asfacius's death.

Such were the Circumstances of that great Man's Deprivation. That the Emperor was not at all concern'd in it, (any otherwise than as he executed the Sentence of the Bishops) he himself attests in his Epistle to P. Innocent. And that he himself lookt upon it as absolutely *invalid*, is notorious. Let us now see what the Consequences were, what was his Behaviour, and what the Behaviour of the Church in relation to his Successors.

1. It is to be observed, that tho' he was so injuriously, and *provokingly* dealt with, tho' he accounted all the Proceedings against him perfectly *invalid*, yet before he was carried away from Constantinople, he absolutely declar'd against all Separation on his Account. This appears, from what has been already observ'd in the

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the *Prefaces* to the *Baroccian Treatise*. When he expected to be deposed (a), *Pray for me, my Brethren*, (says he to the Bishops his Friends) and if you love Christ, let no one leave the Church on my Account. And so you may obtain Mercy. When one of the Bishops complain'd of the loss the Church would have in his Deprivation (b): *It suffices, Brother*, (says he) *speake no more; but, as I said, leave not your Churches*. For as the Gift of Preaching did not begin with me, so neither will it end with me. Again he charges 'em (c) to continue in Communion with those that deposed him, that they might not rend the Church. When he was just going out of his Church, to be led away into Exile, he thus address'd himself to the Deaconesses, who were wont to attend there: (d) *Come hither* (says he) *my Daughters, and hear me*. I am, I perceive, to be your Patriarch no longer. I have finish'd my Course; and perhaps my Face you will never see any more. This is that which I exhort you to do: Let no one of you be drawn off from the Good-will to the Church, which you have hitherto had: And whoever shall be ordain'd (Patriarch in my stead) without his own seeking it, by the Consent of all, to him submit your Heads, (to receive his Blessing) as to my self: For the Church cannot be without a Bishop: And by doing so, you may obtain Mercy. Remember me in your Prayers.

περκαλῶ· μή τις ὑμῶν ἀνακομήτῃ συνήδως εὐνοίας τῇ πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· καὶ ὅς ἐν ἁλίῳ ἀχθῇ ὅπῃ τὴν χειρῶν, μὴ ἀμειψέσας τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ συναίτησαν ὅπῃ πάντων, κλινάτε αὐτὸ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑμῶν ὡς Ἰωάννη· ἡ δύναται γὰρ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀνευ ἐπισκόπου εἶναι· καὶ ἔτιως ἐλθῆναι, μέμνησθε μου ἐν τῇ προσευχαίᾳ ὑμῶν. Ib. p. 90.

We are told by (e) some of our *Answerers*, that S. Chrysostom looked upon himself as a dying Man, when he used these words in taking his leave of the Bishops, and of the Deaconesses, and therefore they cannot import, that he would have them submit to a Bishop, who should succeed him during his Life: But if they had duely consider'd the Words which he spake to the Deaconesses, they would easily have seen, that what they say is not true. And perhaps my Face you will never see any more. What means the word, perhaps, if he verily expected a speedy Death? 'Tis as clear, I think, as the Sun from that single Word, that he did not then certainly expect to be put to Death. And it likewise appears from that Word, that the Advice he gives the Deaconesses, concerning their submitting to his Successor, was intended as well for his own Life-time, as otherwise. Since he plainly intimates, that he thought it doubtful, whether they should ever see him again, or not; if he had only intended, that they should submit to a Successor after his Death, he would have plainly told 'em so: As he takes care to tell 'em, that the Bishop they ought

(a) Ἐυχαρίστε, ἀδελφοί, καὶ εἰ φιλεῖτε τὸν Χριστὸν, ἐμὴ ἐνεκεν ὧν τις ἀπολείπει τὴν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίαν— καὶ ἔτιως ἐλθῆναι. Pallad. V. Chryl. p. 67.

(b) Ἀρχιεῖ, ἀδελφοί, μὴ πολλὰ λέγε· ἀλλ' ὅ ἐῖπον, τὰς ἐκκλησίας ὑμῶν μὴ ἀρῶντες· ὅτι γὰρ ἀπ' ἐμὸς ἡρξάτο τὸ διασπείλαιον, ὅτι εἰς ἐμὴ ἐτελεύτησεν.

(c) Κοινωνήσατε μοι, ἵνα μὴ ῥήσεται τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

(d) Δεῦτε ὦς δεδουλωμένοι, ἀκούσατέ μου· τὰ κατ' ἐμὴ τέλει ἔχει, ὡς ὁρῶ· τὸ δρόμον μου τέλειται, καὶ ἴσως ἐκίτη ὁφθαλμοὶ τὸ προσώπον μου· τὸτο δὲ ἐπὶ ὁ

(e) An Answer to a Treatise out of Eccles. Hist. p. 6.

A farther account of the Baroccian MS. Unity of Priesthood. p. 63.

to submit to, should be one duely Elected ; so he would likewise have told 'em, that it *ought to be after his own Death.*

This Answer, it seems, was not thought so sufficient, but that some have thought fit to contrive another way to escape. Perhaps,

(a) An Answer to a Treatise out of Eccles. Hist. p. 23. says one (a) of our *Answerers*, those Speeches were not truly S. Chrysostom's, but made in his Name by *Palladius*. To this I answer, 1. That if it were true, that

those Speeches were made by the *Author*, not really spoken by S. Chrysostom, yet this at least must be confess'd, that the Author intended, when he made those Speeches, to make such Speeches, as would be thought proper for so great a Man to speak, such as should beget in his Reader a great Esteem, and Veneration for S. Chrysostom. This at least must be granted, that in that Age in which the Author wrote, it was thought a thing very Commendable, not to assert ones Right, so as to occasion a Schism. But, 2. there is not any reason to suspect, that these Speeches were invented by the Author. He speaks so particularly of things ; he tells ye the Name of the Bishop, and the Names of the *Deaconesses*, to whom he speaks ; and the whole Relation carries with it so great an Air of Truth, that it cannot with any shew of Reason be call'd in Question. Sure I am, those Speeches were always understood by

(b) Hist. Eccles. l. 13. c. 20.

(c) Cod. 96. p. 264. Ὁ δὲ τῶντος πρίστω-
μνος παρμυνδύτο, καὶ παρῆναι τὸ ὀν-
κλῆσις μὴ ὀκλῆσαι.

the Antients to be truly S. Chrysostom's own. *Nicephorus Callisti* tells us, (b) that S. Chrysostom commanded the Bishops not to separate from the Communion of his Enemies, and the *Deaconesses* to submit to his Successor : and he highly praises him for it. And *George* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, in his Life of Chrysostom, out of which (c) *Photius* has given us some *Excerpta*, mentions the same thing, that he beg'd the Bishops not to make a Schism in the Church on his Account.

This was S. Chrysostom's Judgment, whilst his Piety was too warm for his Reasonment : but the best of Men are not always consistent with themselves. After he was carried away from *Constantinople* ; his Passions so far prevail, as to make him Act contrary to his own Advice. He separates from the Church,

(d) Ap. Photium Cod. 59. p. 58. Ἐν τῷ τῷ τῷ κεφαλῶν καὶ Ἀρσάκιῳ ὁ πρεσβύτερος ὁ αὐτὸν τὸ Χρυσοστόμῳ διαδεχάμεν, καὶ Ἀθῆκος.

(e) P. 95. Τὸ τῷ Ἀρσάκιῳ Ἀθῆκος ἀντιοῦχται ἐν τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ, πῶς μὴ καὶ τῷ τῷ Ἰωάννῳ.

(f) Hist. l. 1. c. 27. Χειροτονεῖται Ἀθῆκος πρεσβύτερος τῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ π. κλη-
ρι, ἐν τῷ ὀπισθῶν Ἰωάννῳ ὁ πρεσβύτερος, καὶ οὐδὲ ὁ πῶς μετὰ τὸν ἔστησαν, καὶ τῷ
ἀγίῳ καὶ τῷ μαρτυρήσαντι.

and sends about Letters to encourage others to do so. What the reason of this was, is no hard matter to guess. It appears, by the (d) Acts of the Synod ad *Quercum*, by which he was depoled, that *Arsacius* and *Atticus* had both been Witnesses against him. *Palladius* assures us, (e) that *Atticus* was the Contriver of all that was done against him : and (f) *Sozomen* tells us, that he was one of those that conspir'd against him. And this in all Likelihood was the Cause, why he would not yield to 'em. He hated 'em, as his Enemies, and his Passions were too strong for his

Piety. He had own'd before that his *Successors* ought to be received; but when he saw that such were made his *Successors*, as had had a hand in his *Deprivation*, and had been *Witnesses* against him, when he saw that even *Atticus* himself, his very great *Enemy*, was made his *Successor*; his *Passions* grew too strong for his *Judgment*. It the *Epistle* to *Cyriacus* were written by *S. Chrysoſtom*, in whose Name it was published, his *Passions* must needs be confessed by all, to be very exorbitant (a). I hear that that *Dotard* *Arlacius*, whom the *Empress* has placed in my *Chair*, persecutes those that will not *Communi- cate* with him, and that many of them have died in *Prison*. That *Dotard*! But I am not willing to believe, so ill a thing of *S. Chrysoſtom*, as that he would suffer his *Passion* to break out after that manner: and tho' *Photius* (b), a great *Critic*, quotes that *Epistle* as one of *S. Chrysoſtom*'s; yet I doubt not, but they are in the *Right*, who reject it as *Spurious*, and of a *Style* quite different from *S. Chrysoſtom*'s. 'Tis observed by one of our (c) *Answerers*, that there are so many *Accidents*, which may make any *Authors* *Style* different, at different times, especially in his familiar *Letters*, and those written in *Banishment*, and perhaps under the Disorders of *Sick- ness* and *Dangers*, which *S. Chrysoſtom* so often complains of, that this censure from the *style* must be the less certain, especially since *Photius* did not discern it. We grant that *S. Chrysoſtom* did not give up his *Right* to *Arlacius*: there is no need therefore, that our *Author* should defend that *Epistle*. But if he will needs have it, let him have it: It will make more against his *Cause* than for it. Only this I shall say, that it is from the *Style* of those very *Epistles*, which *S. Chrysoſtom* wrote in his *Banishment*, in the very same *Circumstances*, and about the same *Concerns*, that I am fully convinced, that that to *Cyriacus* is not *Genuine*. *Black* and *White*, are hardly more different. And among all *S. Chrysoſtom*'s *Epistles*, there is not one that resembles it. If *Photius* did not discern it, 'twas because he did not consider it.

2. It is to be observed, that they that adher'd to *S. Chrysoſtom*, and refused to *Communicate*, with his *Successors*, *Arlacius* and *Atticus*, were rather carried away by their *Passions*, than governed by *Conscience* and *Principles*. This appears from hence, that tho' *Atticus* was constituted against *S. Chrysoſtom*'s Will, and tho' they themselves had separated from him, and continu'd in their *Separation* long after *S. Chrysoſtom*'s *Death*, yet when *Atticus* had restor'd *S. Chrysoſtom*'s Name to the *Diptychs* of the Church, then almost all were well satisfied, and *Communicated* with *Atticus* as a true *Bishop*. How can this be *Reconcilable* to *Principles*? How could the inserting *S. Chrysoſtom*'s Name in the *Diptychs*, make *Atticus* fit to be own'd as a *Bishop*, if he was not qualified to be own'd before? It is plain, they were govern'd by their *Love*, to *S. Chrysoſtom*, not by *Principles*. Others there were, of the *Joannites*, that refused to *Communicate* with *Atticus*, even after *S. Chrysoſtom*'s Name was inserted in the *Diptychs*, they refused to *Communicate* even with his *Successor* *Sisinnius*; they refused likewise to *communicate* with *Sisinnius*'s *Successor*, *Proclus*: But observe what follows: when the *Patriarch* *Proclus*, had ordered *S. Chrysoſtom*'s Body to be brought to *Constantinople*, and there to

(a) * Ημετα γὰρ κα-
τὰ πρὸς τὸ ἀπὸ ἐ-
κείνου τὸ Ἀρλακίον,
ὃν ἐκάλειεν ὁ βασι-
λεὺς ἐν τῷ Σεβήρῳ,
ἐπ' ἔθλητε, &c.
Ep. 115.

(b) Cod. 277. p.
1565.

(c) An Answer to
a Treatise out of Ec-
cles. Hist. p. 9.

(*) *Theop. Chron.*
p. 30.

be honourably interred, which was (*) three and thirty Years after his Deprivation, then the Breach was all made up, they were all contented, and submitted freely to *Præclus*. What was this, but to be governed by *Passion*? What Alteration could be made in the Nature of the thing, by bringing *S. Chrysostom's* Body to *Constantinople*? 'Tis moreover observable, that the *Joannites of Constantinople* fell off from the Communion of the Church, before there was any one ordain'd in his place, and before *S. Chrysostom* was carried away from *Constantinople*. This

(a) L. 6. c. 18.

appears from the Testimony of *Socrates* (a). *The Emperor* (says he) sent *Chrysostom* word, that himself could not go to Church, if he, who had been deposed by two Synods, were there. On that Account *Chrysostom* went no more to the Church. Then all that were of his Party, forsook the Church, and celebrated the Feast of Easter in the publick Baths of *Constantius*. With them there were many Bishops and Presbyters, and other Ecclesiastical Persons, who because they kept

(b) L. 8. c. 23.

separate Meetings, were call'd *JOANNITES*. To all this I add, that (b) *Sozomen* tells us, that the reason why the *Joannites* refused to Communicate with *Arsacius* after *Chrysostom* was carried away, and He made Patriarch, was (not because they thought it unlawful to Communicate with him, but) because in his Congregations there were some of *Chrysostom's* Deposers.

καὶ ταῦτες ὡς εἰρηαι συνέντες ἐν τῇ ἐχατῇ τῇ πόλει ἐκκλησίαζον.

Among those that received *Atticus* into Communion upon his inserting *S. Chrysostom's* Name in the *Diptychs*, was (c) *P. Innocent of Rome*, together with the rest of those *Western Bishops*, who had been kept by his Authority, from Communicating with *Atticus*. *P. Innocent* in his (d) *Epistle to the Clergy and People of Constantinople* had said, that a Bishop unjustly constituted cannot be a Bishop; but words are oftentimes rashly spoken; 'tis Practice that best expresses the true and genuine Sentiments of the Heart. And the Pope's Practice was contrary to that Saying. If *Atticus* was no Bishop, because unjustly constituted, how could he be a Bishop afterwards, without a *New Ordination*? yet afterwards he is own'd (e) by the Pope, and that too without being confirmed by any Council, by Virtue of the Orders conferr'd upon him, while *Chrysostom* was living. I must here observe, that the chief Reasons why the Pope declared so zealously for *S. Chrysostom*, seems to be this: because *Theophilus of Alex-*

(c) *Vide ejus Epist.*
14, 15, 16, 17, 19.

(d) *Ap. Sozom.*
Hist. l. 13. c. 32.

Καὶ τίς ἡ ἀπορεμένην ἐπὶ ὁρίονα, ἵνα μὴ πρέσβασις κρείστος γένηται, ἢ ζητηθῇ, εἰς τόπους ζώντων ἐσέσθαι ἄλλω ἀποκαθίστανται, ὡς δυναμένων ἐπὶ ἐν τοῖς τε πλεμμελίαις ὁρμωμένοι, ὁρῶς τι ἔχεν ἢ περὶ ἔχεται ὑποτινός κεισθῆναι. ὅδε ποτε πρὸς τῇ πείρῃ τῇ ἡμετέρῃ ταῦτα τετραμῆσαι ἐννοήσαν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοι κακώλυνται, πρὸς μὲν εἰς τὸν ζώντῃ χερσὶν ἄλλον δεδιδῶσι ἔχουσαν· καὶ ὁ χερσὶν ἀδικίαν τῷ τμήνῳ δυνάσαι ἀρελῆσαι τῷ ἐσέσθαι, ἐπὶ ἰδίῃς ἐπὶ ὁρίονα δυνάσαι ἢ κείνῃ, ὡς ἀδικῶς ἀποκαθίσταται.

(e) 'Tis said in the *Boracian Treatise*, That *Severianus* Bishop of *Gabala*, and *Acacius* of *Berrhaa*, who were chiefly concerned in *St. Chrysostom's* Deprivation, were not deposed or punished ἀφανισθέντες ὕστερον Ἰννοκεντίῳ τῷ πάτρι, which I render thus; *Quam post aliquanto coram Papâ Innocentio sifferentur*. The *Vindicator*, p. 39.

says

ays, This is not rightly translated, that the word *ἐμφανισέντες* signifies onely *appeared* in this place ; For (says he) no History owns, that *Severianus* and *Acacius* appeared *personally* before Pope *Innocent* : But that is his mistake ; For tho' in truth they never did *personally* appear, yet 'tis certain, that by the latter Greeks 'twas believed that they did. This the *Vindicator* would not have been ignorant of if he had read the spurious Epistle written in the Emperor *Arcadius's* Name to Pope *Innocent*. The Emperor there tells the Pope, That he had sent *Acacius* and *Severianus* to him to answer for what they had done : Ὁν καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐνδημιόντας, Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον τε καὶ Σεβερ-
ανόν, καὶ τὰς πρὸς γένος τὸ πικρὸν Θεοφίλου τυγχάνουσας, πέπεμδα ταῦτ' ἐπιστάτην, &c.

andrius his taking upon him, to depose a Patriarch of *Constantinople*, was a great Presumption, and a Derogation from the Grandeur of the See of *Rome*. The Pope therefore was obliged to oppose him. And hence it came to pass, that he only desired, that *S. Chrysostom's* Name should be restored to the *Diptychs* : For by that the Patriarch *Atticus* own'd, that *S. Chrysostom* was not *justly*, or *validly* deprived. That was all the Pope aim'd at. It is also observable, that *P. Innocent*, when he propos'd that *S. Chrysostom's* Name should be restored to the *Diptychs* of the Church of *Constantinople*, and of the other Churches of the *East*, does not at all insist on this, that *Asfacius's* Name, who was made Patriarch while *Chrysostom* was living and died before him, should be *struck out*. No, tho' such were his Circumstances, yet the Pope was well contented that his Name should be recited in the Churches, as one of the true Patriarchs of *Constantinople*.

3. It is to be observed, that a very great part of the Catholick Church receiv'd and communicated with *Asfacius* and *Atticus*, tho' at the same time they own'd, that *S. Chrysostom* was *unjustly* depose'd, and that too whilst *S. Chrysostom* was still living.

1. *Maximianus* a Bishop of *Macedonia*, one of *S. Chrysostom's* great Friends, and one to whom he wrote some Epistles, whilst he was in Banishment, sent (a) to *P. Innocent*, to desire him to receive the Patriarch *Atticus* into Communion. 'Tis true, this was after *S. Chrysostom's* Death : yet it shews that he was not of Opinion, that *Atticus's* Ordination was *Null*, because ordain'd while *Chrysostom* was living.

(a) Ep. 16. *Innocentii* P. I.

2. That the Patriarch *Atticus* was owned and received by all the *African* Church, appears from the *Code of the Canons*, of that Church. Let us send (says *Alipius*, (b) one of the Bishops of the Council of *Africa*) to our most holy Brother the Bishop of *Constantinople*, for a Copy of the *Nicene Canons*. Accordingly they did so, and the Patriarch *Atticus's* Answer to them is (c) still extant. The same Church in her Epistle to *P. Celestine*, calls *Atticus*, (d) the venerable Bishop of *Constantinople*, and (e) *Liberatus*, a Deacon of that Church, where he mentions him, gives him the Title of *Beatus Atticus*. So by (f) *Marinus Mercator*, who also seems to have been of *Africa*, he is styled *sancta memoria Atticus, Episcopus* ; again, *sanctus ille Vir*. I Grant that these Testimonies of the Church of *Africa*, were after *S. Chrysostom's* Death : but withall it must be observ'd,

(b) P. 331. Πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον ἀδελφόν ὑμῶν καὶ τὸν Καν-
σαρινεπόλεως ἐπί-
σκοπον, &c.

(c) P. 405.

(d) Ib. p. 409. Πα-
τρὸς τοῦ φερόμενου
Ἀττικῆ τοῦ ἐκ Καν-
σαρινόπολεως ἐπισκόπου.

(e) *Breviario*, c. 4.

(f) *Common. super nomine Celestii, Pelagi, & Juliani. Con-
cil. tom. 2. p. 1512.*

that

Deprivation, as extremely *unjust*, yet highly approves of the Behaviour of the *Monks* of *Egypt*, in not separating themselves from *Theophilus's* Communion. Yet so holy a Man was he esteemed, that he is worshipped by the Church, both the *Greek* and the *Latin*, as a *Saint*.

5. When *S. Chrysostom* took his leave of the *Deaconesses*, and charged 'em to submit to his *Successor*, provided he were *Elected* by the Consent of all, he plainly intimates, that he did not think any would refuse to choose a new Bishop in his place, because he was unjustly deposed. It is plain from those words, that he took it for granted, that all would presently resolve to Elect another in his Room; as a thing to be done of Course.

6. *Socrates* the *Eccl. Historian*, tho' he (a) takes part with *S. Chrysostom* as to the Equity of his Cause, and condemns his Deposers, as Acting *unjustly* and *uncanonically*, yet at the same time, approves very well of their new Patriarchs *Arsacius* and *Atticus*. He says, That *Arsacius* was a person of (b) extraordinary mildness, and govern'd peaceably. *Atticus* he calls (c) a pious and a prudent man: and tells us, that by (d) those Qualifications he much increased the Church, the *Hereticks* being brought over to it by his Management. He spends (in a word) whole (e) Chapters in his praise.

(a) Vide l. 6. c. 10.
15, 16, 18.

(b) C. 19. Καὶ τὸτα δι' ὡρεβολῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῷ ἐπισκοπῶν ἡσυχῶς διέποιοντο.

(c) Πρεσβυτέρῳ εἰς τῷ ἐπισκοπῶν ἀντιρροῦλα βῆς, ὃ ἄσκημα ἦν Ἀπὸ κῆδος φροσύνης φρονίμου.

κῆδος φρονίμου ἦν. c. 20. (d) L. 7. c. 2. (e) lb. c. 25.

7. The Historian *Theodoret*, who was himself a Bishop, and lived at that time, tho' he extremely (f) disapprov'd of *S. Chrysostom's* Deprivation as *unjust*, and *illegal*, yet he reckons not only *Atticus*, who survived *S. Chrysostom*, but likewise *Arsacius*, amongst the Patriarchs of *Constantinople*, viz. in the Catalogue of Patriarchs subjoin'd to his History. (g) Bishops of *Constantinople* — *Joannes Chrysostomus*, *Arsacius*, *Atticus*, *Sisinnius*. They are reckon'd likewise, as Patriarchs of *Constantinople*, in all the Catalogues of the Patriarchs of that See, in that of the Patriarch *Nicephorus*, in that of *Nicephorus Callisti* not yet publish'd, in that which is extant in the *Jus Græco-Romanum*, and in both those that are published in the beginning of the First Volume of the *Byzantine Historians*. Yet 'tis certain, that when these Catalogues were written, 'twas a thing receiv'd as the Gospel it self, That *S. Chrysostom* was unjustly, and unlawfully deposed. He is reckon'd also as one of the true Patriarchs of *Constantinople*, by *Theophanes* in his *Chronography*.

(f) Vide l. 5. c. 34.

(g) Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπίσκοποι — Ἰωάννης ὁ Χρυσόστομος, Ἀρσάκιος, Ἀττικὸς, Σισίννιος.

8. 'Tis well observ'd by the Author of the *Baroccian Treatise*, that tho' it cannot be supposed, but that the Patriarch *Arsacius* ordain'd several Persons, Bishops and Presbyters, yet it does not at all appear, that any ever scrupled to receive any Persons on that account, because by him ordain'd.

I shall conclude this Chapter with the words of *P. Celestine I.* concerning the Patriarch *Atticus*. *Atticus* (says he in his (h) Epistle to the Patriarch *Nestorius*) of holy Memory, that Doctor of the Catholick Faith, who was truly a Successor of the blessed *John* (*Chrysostom*) as well in his Faith as in his See, &c.

(h) Ap. Conc. Ephes. parte 1. cap. 18. Ὁ τ' ἀγίας μνήμης Ἀπὸ κῆδος φρονίμου καὶ τ' καθολικῆς πίστεως, καὶ ἀληθῶς τῷ μακαρίῳ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ εἰς τὰ πάντα διδάσκων.

C H A P. XVII.

Deprivations by Heretical Synods invalid. S. Eustathius, Patriarch of Antioch, deposed by an Heretical Synod; he himself accounts his Deprivation invalid. The Orthodox separate from the Communion of his Successors, not because he was invalidly deprived, but because they accounted them Hereticks. Eustathius acts as Bishop of Antioch, tho' in banishment, as long as his Successors were Hereticks; but as soon as Meletius, an Orthodox Person, was ordain'd his Successor, he desisted, and concern'd himself no more as Bishop of Antioch. That he lived till Meletius was made Patriarch, demonstrated against Baronius, Valesius, &c. It by some of the Orthodox refused to submit to Meletius. The Vindicator's Assertion, That none accounted Meletius an Arian whilst he was Bishop, confuted. The Schism between the Meletians and the Paulinists no Example against us. §. 1, 2. The Instance of Maximus and Cyril of Jerusalem examin'd. §. 3. Euphemius, Patriarch of Constantinople, deposed by an Heretical Synod; yet Macedonius, an Orthodox and a good Man, accepts of his See, tho' he own'd him to be the rightfull Patriarch. Macedonius is receiv'd by the Catholicks, tho' they loved Euphemius and accounted him unjustly deprived. He is own'd by S. Elias Bishop of Jerusalem, tho' Elias at the same time declared Euphemius's Deprivation unjust, and refused to subscribe to it. §. 4. The Schisms of the Novatians, Donatists, and Meletians of Egypt, no Examples against us. §. 5. Two Fragments of Photius out of a MS. §. 1, 3.

THat the Deprivation of a Bishop by an Heretical Synod is absolutely null and invalid, is a certain Maxim in the Law of the Church. Yet this the Vindicator does not seem to take notice of. If he can shew that a Bishop was deprived by Bishops, he presently thinks himself secure, without considering whether the Deprivers were Heretical or not. S. Athanasius in his Epistle ad Solitarios, where he tells us that the Emperor Constantius sent to Liberius, Bishop of Rome, to perswade him to subscribe to his (Athanasius's) Condemnation, whom a Synod of Arians had deposed, makes Liberius speak to the Messenger after this manner. *Let there be (says he) an Ecclesiastical Synod call'd, and let the Hereticks (a) be thrown out, and let the Orthodox have freedom of Speech. For they cannot be Members of a Synod who are not Ortho-*

(a) P. 833. Οἱ δὲ τὰ Ἀρεῖς φρονήσεις ἐκβάλλονται, οἱ δὲ καθαροὶ παύροισιν ἔχουσιν· ἔσθ' οὖν ἡ Συνοδὸς συναεθνησθῆναι τὸς περὶ τῶν ἀσθενῶν, ἵνα πρὸς τὴν κείνων περὶ τῶν ἐξέτασιν, τὸς περὶ τῶν ἐξέτασιν. καὶ τότε τὴν περὶ τῶν περὶ τῶν ἐξέτασιν περὶ τῶν ἐξέτασιν. ταῦτα οὖν τῶν πατέρων ἐμάθουν· ταῦτα ἀπαγγέλλον τῷ βασιλεῖ.

dox in Faith: neither ought any Judicial Enquiry to be made concerning Actions, till there has been an Enquiry concerning Faith. For, first, all difference in Faith ought to be removed, and then we may make an Enquiry into Actions.—These things have we learnt from our Fathers. These things declare to the Emperor. Thus when Macedonius the Orthodox Patriarch of Constantinople was depriv'd first by the Emperor Anastasius, and afterwards by a kind of Synod, which consisted of Eutychian Hereticks, and some Bishops were sent to him with his Deprivation, he askt 'em, (a) *Whether they receiv'd the Council of Chalcedon?* For (says he) if Sabbatians or Macedonians should bring me a Deprivation, ought I to receive it? So he refused to receive it. So far was the Church from allowing a Heretick to be a Judge of a Bishop, that she would not allow one to be a Witness against a Bishop. 'Tis expressly forbidden by the 6th. Canon of the 2d. General Council.

Σαίξεν, ἔδει με λῆξαι καὶ ὡς ὑπερέβαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

In the time of the Emperor Constantine, Eustathius, Patriarch of Antioch was deposed by an Heretical Synod upon an Accusation of Incontinence. The Indicator tells us that his Deposers, tho' they secretly favour'd the Arians, were not as yet declared an opposite Communion. That is nothing to the purpose: For 'tis certain, that for a great while together, that Party were in a sort of Communion with the catholicks, and yet were accounted Hereticks. That Eustathius was deposed by Hereticks (such at least as refused to subscribe to the ὁμολογίον or Doctrine of the Nicene Council) is attested by S.* Chrysostom, (b) Athanasius, (c) S. Jerome, (d) Sozomen, the Patriarch (e) Nicephorus, and (f) others, who tell us not onely that he was deposed by Arians, but likewise that he was deposed on the account of his Faith, because he was a great Enemy of the Arians, and a great Defender of the Orthodox Faith. Hence it is that he is wont to be honour'd with the Title of (g) Martyr and (h) Confessor. Theodoret (i) tells us that the Orthodox Bishops, who were present in that Synod, were against his Deprivation, and perswaded him not to submit to the

(a) Theoph. p. 134.

Πρὶν αὐτὸς λαλῆσαι, ἠρώτα, εἰ δέχονται τὴν ἐν Χαλκηδὺν σύνοδον; ἣν δὲ εἰπόντων ἡ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔφη. Σαββατιανοὶ, ἢ Μακεδονιανοὶ, εἰ ὑπερέβαν μοι κα-

* Eucum. Eustath.

(b) Apolog. ad Imp.

p. 702. Ποία ἐκκλησία νῦν ἔσθ' ἐστὶν διὰ τὰς ἐκλήνας (Ἀρειανῶν) κατὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς αὐτῶν ἐπιβουλῆς; Ἀντιόχεια μὲν δὲ Εὐστάθιον καὶ Ὁμολογητὴν καὶ Ὁρτοδότον, &c.

(c) Chron. Eustathius, quo in exilium ab fidem truso.

(d) Συνὸς δὲ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ γινόμενος ἀφαιρέται Εὐστάθιος τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐκκλησίαν, τὸ μὲν αἰνέσας, ὡς πολὺς ἔχει λόγους, κατὰ τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ πίστιν ἐκφέρει, καὶ τὰς αἰρεσεὶς Εὐσεβίου, καὶ Παυλίνου καὶ Τύρου Ἐπισκοποῦ, καὶ Παλέρμιον καὶ Σινδοπόλεως, ὡς τὴν γνῶμιν οὐκ ἀνατρεῖ ἕως ἱερῆς ἐπιστολῆς, οἷα καὶ τὰ Ἀρειο φρονήσας ἀπεσπείρει οὐκ ἰσχυρῶς διέβαλλε, l. 2. c. 19.

(e) Εὐστάθιος δὲ ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ τῇ παλαιᾷ, καὶ μέγας --- ὁ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἀπὸ Ἀρειανῶν Chronol.

(f) Menaeum Græcorum. Libellus Synodicus, &c.

(g) Niceph. Patr. loc. cit. Anastasius Sinaita Contempl. Anagag. in Hexæm. l. 9.

(h) Martyrolog. Rom. 17. Kal. Aug. & alia Martyrologia.

(i) L. 1. c. 21. Λοιπὸν οἱ φιλαλήθεις καὶ ἴσους ἐξήνεγκαν. ἣν δὲ ἄλλων ἀρεμεσίαν, πείσσαν γὰρ ἐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ ἣν ἀποστολικὰν ὑπερμαχούσας δογματῶν, καὶ τὰ τοσευδῆσα παντάπασιν ἀγνοοῦντες, περὶ αὐτῶν ἀνελθόντων, καὶ τὴν Εὐστάθιον τὴν ἴσους ἐκείνου ἀφαιρέσαν λῆξαι κοινῶν, &c.

(a) *Ibid.*

Sentence pass'd upon him. Neither did he submit; for those that had condemn'd him were forc'd to apply (a) themselves to the Emperor, to desire him to execute their Sentence, and to banish him from *Antioch*. Which was accordingly done.

Tho' *Eustathius* was so unjustly and *invalidly* deposted, yet,

1. I observe that the *Orthodox* Party of *Antioch* did not separate from his *Successors*, because he had been *invalidly* deprived, but because they accounted them *Arians*. That this was the Cause of their Separation, is expressly asserted by *Theodoret*. Having said that *Eulalius*, *Euphronius*, and *Flaccillus* were made

Bishops of *Antioch* successively in *Eustathius's* room, he (b) adds: All these were inwardly *Arians*, and on that account, the greatest part of the *Orthodox*, both *Clergy* and *Laity*, left the Churches, and met together in *Conventicles*: and were call'd *Eustathians*, because they began after he was carried away. *Socrates* tells us, that after *Eustathius* was deposted, there was a great Sedition in *Antioch*, one part of the City being for (c) *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, and others, desiring that *Eustathius* should be restor'd: He adds, That *Eusebius* refusing to accept of the Bishoprick of *Antioch*, the Seditions ceas'd. No wonder if the People were for the restauration of their old Bishop, since there was not any other then in his See. No wonder if they were so much against *Eusebius's* being made Bishop, since he (as is very notorious) was accounted an *Arian*.

(b) L. 1. c. 22.
Πάντες δὲ ὁμοίως
τὴν Ἀρείου λόγῳ ἐ-
χόν ἐγκαχυμένον
διὰ τοῦτο πλείους
τῶν εὐσεβείων περὶ-
εσμένων, καὶ τῶν ἱερω-
μένων, καὶ τῶν πολ-
λῶν, τὸς ἐκκλησια-
στικὰς καταλειπο-
ντες συλλογόμενοι, πρὸς
ἐαυτοὺς συνεδρῶν-
το· Εὐσταθίου δὲ
τῆτος ἀνόματον ἄ-
παντες ἐπειδὴ μὲν
τὴν ἑξοδὸν τὴν ἐκείνου συνέσταν.

(c) *Socr. l. 1. c. 24.* he omits *Eulalius*. *Theodoret* shews that they did not endeavour to choose *Eusebius*, till after *Eulalius's* Death. *Socrates* is likewise in an error when he says there was a 8 Years vacancy between *Eustathius* and *Euphronius*.

2dly. I observe, that *Eustathius* being in Banishment, continu'd to take care of the *Orthodox* of *Antioch* as their Bishop (as much as he could at so great a distance) as long as those that were put into his place were *Arians*: But as soon as *Meletius*, an *Orthodox* Person, was made Bishop in his room, he peaceably gave over, and never concern'd himself any more as a Bishop of *Antioch*.

'Tis observ'd by *Photius*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, in a (d) Treatise not yet publish'd, that *Meletius*, tho' he had receiv'd his Orders from *Arians*, and tho' *Eustathius* was still living, was however own'd by the Church as a true Patriarch of *Antioch*. The holy *Meletius* (says he) was ordain'd

(d) MS. Baroc. Περὶ Ἐπονομάτων καὶ Μη-
τροπολιτῶν. &c. Ὁ
ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μελέτιος ἀπὸ
Ἀρειανῶν ἐχρησίσθη
Σεβαστίας· εἰπα ὡς· ἢ αὐτῶν Ἀρειανῶν μελετήθη εἰς Βέροιαν· καὶ πάλιν εἰς Ἀντι-
οχείαν, ἔξωθέν· ὡς τὸ ὁμοῦς τὸ ἀγίῳ Εὐσταθίῳ· ἀλλ' ἔσθ' αὐτὸν πρὸς κείνῳ ἐλο-
χίσθη, ὅτε ἡ μελέτης, ὅτε πρὸς τὸν ἀγίῳ Εὐσταθίῳ καὶ ὡς τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐξοριδέν-
τος, εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου δέξινον ἀναβῆναι, ὅτε τὸ ὡς αἰρετικῶν τῶν Ἀρειανῶν τὴν χειρο-
τονίαν δεξαδαι, ἀλλὰ, μόνον ὅτι περὶ τὸ τοῦ ἐξοριδέντος, καὶ ἐδέχθη ἀσμένως, καὶ μὲν
κορυβαίαν ἢ ἀγίῳ παύσαν δεξαδαι. Οὐκ καὶ τὸ Χρυσοστόμου διάκονον ἐχρησίσθησε,
καὶ τὸ μέγαν Βασίλειον ἱερέα· ὡς ἡ Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία Σωκράτους φησὶ· συμμαχισθεὶς δὲ
τῷ καὶ τῷ ἀρχιεπίσκοπῳ· ἐν τῷ λόγῳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰς τὸ μέγαν Βασίλειον.

Bishop

Bishop of Sebastia by the Arians, and by the Arians likewise was translated from thence to Berthoea, and afterwards to Antioch, S. Eustathius being thrust out of that See for his Orthodoxy. But nothing of all this prov'd a prejudice to him; not his being translated from one See to another, not his being advanced to Eustathius's Throne when he was banish'd for his Piety and still living, nor his being ordain'd by Arians. But because he adher'd to the Orthodox Faith, he was readily receiv'd by the Church, and is honour'd among the chief of the holy Fathers. He it was that ordain'd Chrysostom, Deacon; and the great Basil, Presbyter: as we learn from Socrates's Ecclesiastical History, and from S. Amphilochius's Oration concerning S. Basil. That S. Basil and S. Chrysostom were ordain'd by Meletius, and that the old Patriarch Eustathius was living when Meletius was made Patriarch of Antioch, is likewise observ'd by the Author of the Baroccian Treatise. But that Eustathius was living when Meletius was made Patriarch of Antioch, is positively denied by some of our (a) Answerers. I had observ'd in my Notes on that Treatise, that (b) Socrates and (c) Sozomen expressly attest that Eustathius was alive in the third Consulship of Valentinianus and Valens, i.e. A. D. 370. which was long after Meletius was made Patriarch, that he had been recall'd from Banishment by the Emp. Jovian, that he was on that Year at Constantinople, where he Ordain'd Evagrius the Orthodox Patriarch of Constantinople, in opposition to Demophilus the Arian, and was agen banish'd by the Emperor Valens to Bizua in Thrace; I observ'd that the Arguments produced by Baronius and Valesius, to shew that Eustathius died before Valesius was made Patriarch, and that Socrates and Sozomen mistook Eustathius of Antioch for Eustathius of Sebastia, are not of so great weight as to be laid in the Balance against so expresse and particular an account as those Authors give us. To this, says one of our Answerers: "I must confess that Eustathius (as the Editor observes against Valesius) might have lived to the third Consulship of Valentinianus and Valens, for then he had not been above 90 Years of Age. But is this the Argument of Baronius, or doth Valesius produce no other? Had he lookt into the Annals, An. 370. he would have found that Baronius thought it absurd to imagin that the Orthodox Bishops, and Catholick People of Antioch, would have suffer'd Meletius or Paulinus to have sate in that Chair, had Eustathius been alive: That 'tis incredible he should not repair to Antioch, and appear in the Catholick Synod at that time; and folly to fantasie that Meletius and Paulinus would not have given place to him, and to put an end to the Schism in that Church. And Valesius proves from S. Jerom that Eustathius of Antioch was buried at Trajanople in Thrace, to which place he was banish'd (by Constantine) and therefore could not be that Eustathius who was banish'd by Valens to Bizua in Thrace. But these are Arguments not very favourable to the Editor's Designs, and therefore must be shuffled over and conceal'd: So that we have a full Testimony of Theodoret, who wrote his History to supply the Defects and correct the Mistakes of Socrates and Sozomen, and says that Eustathius was dead before Meletius was made Patriarch; and likewise the Authority of S. Jerom against a senseless surmise of one single Socrates,

" (for

(a) A farther Account of the Baroccian MS. p 6, 7.

(b) L. 4. c. 14, 15.

(c) L. 6. c. 13.

" (for *Sozomen* transcribes him) who was neither so accurate nor judicious as either of the other two, &c. Thus much our Author. But notwithstanding his Sufficiency and Confidence, I still assert, that *Eustathius* was living when *Meletius* was made Patriarch of *Antioch*. First, As for the Testimony of *S. Jerom*, it might very well be so as he says, and yet so as *Socrates* says too.

(a) His Body, as it seems was afterwards remov'd to *Philippi*. For *Victr Tun.* and *Theodorus Lector* say, it was carried to *Antioch* from *Philippi*. *Theodorus* thought that he was banish'd to *Philippi*.

of *Socrates*. That *Eustathius* was dead when *Meletius* was made Patriarch, might be said only by Conjecture: But to tell such a particular Story as *Socrates* does concerning his being alive after that, argues a particular Knowledge. And as for *Theodoret* his being so much a better Historian

(b) *Præf. ad Theodorit. Illud præterea in Historiâ Theodoriti reprehendendum mihi videtur, quod in toto opere nullam notam temporum adhibuit. — Quanto magis Laudanda est Socratis diligentia, &c.*

* *Ad. Phot. Bibl.*

(c) *Chron. ubi de Euagria Ep. Constantinopolitano.*

(d) *Catal. MS. Patr. Constantinopolitan. & in Histou.*

(e) *L. 2. p. 557.*

(f) Not 490, as *Victr Tun.* and *Valesius* say: for *Calendion* was not Patriarch so long.

For *Eustathius*, tho banish'd by *Valens* to *Bizana*, might be buried at (a) *Trajanople*. And since that *Eustathius*, whom *Socrates* mentions, was banish'd into *Thrace*, where *S. Jerom* and *S. Chrysostom* say *Eustathius* of *Antioch* lay buried, even from thence it appears probable that it was the same *Eustathius*. 2. The Authority of *Theodoret* is much less than that

of *Socrates*. That *Eustathius* was dead when *Meletius* was made Patriarch, might be said only by Conjecture: But to tell such a particular Story as *Socrates* does concerning his being alive after that, argues a particular Knowledge. And as for *Theodoret* his being so much a better Historian than *Socrates*, our Author might have learnt from *Valesius* himself, that (b) *Socrates* was particularly diligent in his *Chronology*. 3. It is not only *Socrates*, and those that follow him, that are Witnesses of what we assert. I shall not urge the Authority of *Photius*, nor that of the * *Life of S. Athanasius*, of (c) *Nicephorus* the Patriarch, of (d) *Nicephorus Callisti*, who, as well as *Sozomen*, seem to have borrow'd from *Socrates*: But others there are who did not follow him. 1. 'Tis expressly asserted in the *Menology* of the *Greek Church*, that our *Eustathius* was a hundred Years old when he died. 2. 'Tis likewise expressly asserted by (e) *Theodorus Lector*, who is follow'd by *Theophanes*, that he died a hundred Years before his Body was translated from *Philippi* to *Antioch* by the Patriarch *Calendion*, which was in the Year (f) 482, or 483; Therefore according to *Theodorus* he died about the Year 382. To which time he might very well live, since he was a hundred Years old when he died. But

to what purpose do I cite these Authorities, when *S. Chrysostom* himself is my Witness? Let us hear what he says of *Eustathius* in his *Encomium*. He there plainly tells us, not only that he was living, when *Meletius* was ordain'd his Successor, (which I wonder that neither *Baronius*, nor *Valesius* observ'd) but likewise that he left off to concern himself, as a Bishop of *Antioch*, as soon as the Orthodox

thodox *Meletius* was ordain'd in his place.

(a) God (says *S. Chrysostom*) permitted the Blessed *Eustathius* to be lead away into Banishment, that he might make the strength of Truth, and the weakness of Hereticks more manifest. When he was to be carried away, tho' he was to leave the City, yet he would not cease to love you: and he did not therefore look upon himself to be deprived of his Episcopal Office, because he was thrust out of his Church. But so much the more he apply'd himself to take care of you, and calling you all together he exhorted you, not to yield to the Wolves, or betray the Flock to em.

—(b) When they invaded the Sheep, he did not leave em, tho' he was not possessed of the Episcopal Chair. But that his generous and Philosophical Soul did not value: the Honours of a Governor he left to others, but he bore the burden of a Governor, being conversant among Wolves.——(c) In doing thus he formed all to the true Faith. Neither did he desist, till by the Providence of God the blessed *Meletius* came hither, and received the whole Mass: the one sow'd, and the other reapt.

(c) Καὶ ταῦτα ποιών ἐξ ὧμων ἀσπίδας εἰς τὴν ἀληθείαν ποιεῖν, ὡς ὁ Θεὸς ἡ μαχίμεον Μελέτιον παρεσκεύασεν ἐλθόντα τὸ πνεῦμα ἀπαν λαβεῖν αὐτὸ ἑσπικμεν, ἐκείνῳ ἐλθὼν ἐθήσειεν.

3. I observe, that tho' as *S. Chrysostom* witnesses, *Eustathius* continued to Act as Bishop of *Antioch*, yet as soon as *Meletius*, an Orthodox Person, was proposed to be Elected Bishop of that See, the Orthodox Party very readily concurr'd and accepted of him, tho' it does not appear, that they knew that *Eustathius* would give his Consent. How cheartully the Orthodox accepted of *Meletius* we may read in (d) *Theodore*. There were (d) *L. 2. c. 31*. some of the *Eustathians* that stood out against him, and refused to own him: But their reason was, because he had been ordain'd by *Arians* which that party accounted a just Cause of Separation, and besides was by many accounted an *Arian* himself. We are told by the (e) (e) *P. 50, 51*. *Vindicator*, that the only Reason why his Adversaries excepted against him was, his being ordain'd by *Arians*: But that is a very great Mistake. That by some he was accounted an *Arian*, even whilst he was Bishop of *Antioch*, (f) *S. Basil* complains. (g) *S. Jerom* himself expressly calls him a Heretick or *Arian*, and so does the Author of the (h) *Chronicon Paschale*.

Leontius, Eudoxius, Meletius, Euzoius, Dorotheus; rursum Meletius. Quorum idcirco tempora non digessi, quod eos hostes potius quam Episcopos Christi judicavi. Vide ad an. 361.

(h) *P. 688. Ed. in 40.*

(a) Διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἡ μαχίμεον Εὐστάθιον ἀρτίκε πρὸς τὴν ἀπεργεῖαν ὁ Θεὸς ἀπαρξεν, ἵνα μετ' ὅσων ὑμῶν διεξῆ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν ἀληθείας καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ τὴν ἀδύναμιν μέγα λον πένον πρὸς τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἀπεινῶν τὴν μὲν πάλιν ἦρει, τὴν δ' ἀπάλιν ἱμῶν ἐκ ἡρίων ἐδὲ ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ἔθεσ ἀλλετο, καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑμῶν κινεμονίας ἀλλότριον ἐαυτὸν εἶ ἐνόμισεν, ἀλλὰ μετ' ὅσων τότε ἐκλήροτο, καὶ ἐφ' ὅσων τῶν καλῶν ἀπαιτίας παρεκάλετο μὴ ἀφ' ὧν ἦσαν, μὴ δ' ἐκ τῶν τοῖς λυκοῖς, μὴ δ' ἀποδύναμι τὴν ποιῶν αὐτοῖς, &c.

(b) Ἐπορεύσαντο γὰρ ἐκείνων ἐκ ἀρτίκε τὰ πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ τὴν ἐκ ἡν ὅτι τὸ δέρον τὸ ἀρετὴν ἀνελθόν· ἀλλ' ἐδὲν ὅσο πρὸς τὴν γενναίαν ἐκείνων καὶ φιλόσοφον λογίαν· τὰς αὐτὰς τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐπέεσις ἦσαν, τὰς δ' ὅσων τῶν ἀρετῶν αὐτοῖς ἀποδύναμι ἐκείνων μετὰ τὸν ἡν λυκῶν σφραγισμένων.

(f) *Ep. 321, 349.*

(g) *Chron. an. 329. Eustathius in exilium ob fidem truso, usque in presentem diem; Arianum Ecclesiam occupaverunt, i. e. Eulalius, Eustathius, Euphronius, Placillus, Stephanus.*

§. 2. After

§. 2. After some time *Meletius* was by the Emperor *Constantius* banished, and recalled, together with the other Orthodox Bishops that had been banished, by the Emperor *Julian*. Before he return'd to *Antioch*, *Lucifer Calaritanus*, a great Zealot, one that did not allow of any one whom the *Arians* had ordain'd, had been there; and had ordain'd a Presbyter of the *Eustathians*, by Name *Paulinus*, Bishop of *Antioch*. This the greatest part of the Orthodox did not allow of, but refused to receive him as their Bishop, and

(a) An Answer
to a Treatise out of
Ecclef. Hist. p. 4. 5.

when their Bishop *Meletius* returned, adhered to him. We are told by (a) some of our Adversaries, that this Example makes directly against us. For (say they) *Paulinus* was possessed of the See of *Antioch*, and was likewise Orthodox, yet *Meletius's* Party did not receive him, but waited for his Return, and adhered to him. But 'tis strange, that this should be urged against that Doctrine which we maintain. I shall

(b) Epiphani. Har.
77. c. 20.

not mention that *Paulinus* was esteemed by some not Orthodox, but a (b) *Sabellian*; neither shall I mention, that his not allowing the Ordinations of the *Meletian* Clergy, as being derived from the *Arians*, was enough to make that Party oppose him. I only observe, that the Circumstances of his Promotion, were extremely different from those supposed in our Question. 1. *Lucifer Calaritanus* had nothing at all to do with the See of *Antioch*. What Authority had he to constitute a Bishop of *Antioch*? Had *Meletius* been dead, the Church of *Antioch* would not have been obliged to submit to *Paulinus* whom he made Bishop. If an *Outlandish* Bishop, that had nothing at all to do here, should pretend to constitute an Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the room of a banished Archbishop, who can imagine that, by the Principles which we advance, we should be obliged to receive him? 2. *Meletius* was not at that time in Banishment, not made incapable of serving as a Bishop of *Antioch*. He was so far from being made incapable by any Sovereign Power, that by the Emperor's Authority he had (c) leave given him to return to his See, and was as it were upon the Road.

(c) Socr. l. 3. c. 6,
7, 9. Theodoret, l. 3.
c. 4, 5.

§. 3. It's alleged by the Author of the *Baroccian Treatise*, That *Maximus* an Orthodox Bishop of *Jerusalem*, was deposed by *Acacius* the Heretical Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, because he took part with *S. Athanasius*, and established the Doctrine of the *Homousion*: That, he being so deposed, *Cyril* an *Arian* was constituted Bishop in his room, but was afterwards own'd by the Church, because he came over to the Orthodox Faith, and is honoured by the Church as a Saint. To this our Adversaries answer, that (d) *Theodoret*, and (e) *S. Jerom* attest, that *Maximus* was (not deposed but) dead before *Cyril* was made Bishop of *Jerusalem*. To which they might have added, the Authority of the (f) General Council of *Constantinople*, in which it is declared that *Cyril* was made Bishop Canonically ordained by the Bishops of the Province. On the other side it may be alleged,

(d) L. 2. c. 26.
(e) Chron. an. 349.

(f) Epist. Synod.
ad Damas. P. ap.
Theod. l. 5, 9 p. 211.

alleged, that the Historian Socrates (a) expressly affirms, that Maximus was expelled, and Cyril substituted in his room by the Arians, Acacius and Patrophilus; and that followed by many; by the Author of the (b) Synodicon, and by the Authors of the two Lives of S. Athanasius. It is likewise attested by Theophanes, that Maximus was deposed. To which I shall add the Testimony of Photius, out of a MS. Treatise, which is directly to our purpose. S. Maximus (says (c) he) the Confessor, being expelled by the Arians for his Orthodoxy, Cyril was by the Arians ordain'd in Jerusalem, one of the Chief of the Arian Faction, as Ecclesiastical Historians tell us. But he coming over to the Orthodox Faith, was not only receiv'd as a Bishop, together with those whom he had ordain'd, but is also honour'd by the Church as a Saint. Concerning whom Gregory Nyssen in his Homily, upon the Translation of the Body of S. Stephen the Proto-Martyr, has these words: Cyril repented and adhered to the Orthodox Faith. He presided in the Second Council, and was not excepted against, either because he was ordained by Arians, and had been an Arian himself, or because he had usurpt the Chair of S. Maximus, expelled in defence of the Homoeousion, and still living. This Instance I leave to the Reader's Judgment.

δείλων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἀρχὴ ὑνέχεται· περὶ τὴ καὶ ὁ Νύσσης εἰς τὴν ἀνακομιδὴν τοῦ ἀγίου προσκομίσαντος Στεφάνου λόγῳ φησὶν· ἦν δὲ Κωνσταντῖνον ἐκ μεταστάσεως τῶν διωκτικῶν περὶ δέχμενον· ἔτι καὶ τὸ συνοδικὸν τὸ δεύτερον περὶ τὴν μηδὲν ὡς φησὶ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν χειροτονηθείς καὶ τὸ ἐκείνων συμφωνήσας· μήτε ὡς ζωντοῦ τοῦ ἀγίου Μαξίμου, ὡς ὁμοούσιον ἐξοριζέμεντο εἰς τὸ δεῖνον αὐτῷ ὁμολογίας.

(a) L. 2. c. 38.

in this Socrates is

(b) C. 49.

(c) MS. Baroc.
Περὶ ἐπισκόπου καὶ
μνηστοπολιτῶν, &c.
Τὸ ἀγίου Μαξίμου τοῦ
Ὁμολογητῆ διὰ τὴν
ὁρθοδοξίαν φησὶ τῶν
Ἀρειανῶν ἐξοριζέμεν-
το· ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις
ἐχειροτονήθη Κωνσταν-
τῖνον φησὶ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν,
κορυφαῖον αὐτῶν
τὴν αὐτῆς αἵρεσιν, ὡς
φασιν αἱ ἐκκλησιαστικαὶ
ἱστορίαι· περὶ δέ-
χμενος δὲ τῇ ὁρθοδόξῃ,
καὶ μόνον ἐδέχθη ὡς
ἀρχιερεὺς, μὴ τῶν
ὡς αὐτὸν χειροτονή-
σαν ἀνακομιδῇ τῶν λε-
γιμένων ἐκ μεταστάσεως
τοῦ διωκτικῶν περὶ δέ-
χμενον· ἔτι καὶ τὸ συνοδικὸν
τὸ δεύτερον περὶ τὴν
μηδὲν ὡς φησὶ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν
χειροτονηθείς καὶ τὸ
ἐκείνων συμφωνήσας·
μήτε ὡς ζωντοῦ
τοῦ ἀγίου Μαξίμου, ὡς
ὁμοούσιον ἐξοριζέμεντο
εἰς τὸ δεῖνον αὐτῷ
ὁμολογίας.

§. 4. Euphemius Patriarch of Constantinople, was deposed by an Heretical Synod, in obedience to the Heretical Emperor Anastasius. The Emperor Anastasius (says Theodorus (d) Lector) charged the Patriarch Euphemius with the Rebellion of the Hauri, alleging that he had written Letters to the Rebels, and called together (e) those Bishops which were in Town; who to gratify the Emperor, pass'd upon Euphemius the Sentence of Excommunication, and Deprivation. 'Tis to be observ'd of this Synod, that it was unlawful on two Accounts. 1. It was only a Synodus ἐκδημοῦσα, i. e. a few Bishops called together, such as were then residing at Constantinople, which by the Canons of the Church could be of no force at all, for they require that a (f) Synod should be at least Provincial. The Vindicator says such a Synod was by the Canons of the Church sufficient and obliging, till a greater number of Bishops, could be persuaded to restore him. By what Canons? If the Law requires, that all the Members of Parliament should be summoned, and only some few are called, tho' every one is truly a Member, yet they can-

(d) P. 559.

(e) Συνήχαζον τοὺς
ἐκδημοντας ἐπισκό-
πους, οἵτινες βασιλεῖ
χαιρίζομενοι.

(f) That the Affairs of a Province should be managed by the Bishops (in General) of that Province.

not make a *Parliament*. 2. It was an *Heretical Synod*. Such a one to be sure it was. For the true Reason why the Emperor would have *Euphemius* deposed (a) was, because he knew him to be a stout Defender of the Faith. If they had not been Men of his own Faith, the Emperor would never have employ'd him in that Business: and *Theophanes* (b) expressly tells us, that the Bishops that were about the Emperor were *Hereticks*. That this Synod in particular, was an *Heretical* (c) Synod, the *Libellus Synodicus* asserts. I now observe: 1. That *Macedonius* who was put into *Euphemius*'s place, and was really Orthodox, tho' the Emperor (I suppose) thought

(a) *Evagr. l. 3. c. 30* *Victor. Tit. p. 5.*
Macellinus Comes, Cy-
rillicus Scythop. V. Sabæ.
(b) *P. 128.*

(c) *G. 107. Καὶ*
ἐν τούτῳ ἀπέστη ἡ ἐκ-
κλησία.

him well inclin'd to his Party, tho' he accounted *Euphemius* unduly deprived, and had withall a great Honour for him, yet he freely accepted of the See, and that too, tho' he knew that *Euphemius* had never resign'd. That he thought him invalidly deprived, may be gathered from these words of *Theodorus Lector*. The Emperor (says he) Commanded *Euphemius* to be banished to *Euchaita*, who desired that *Macedonius* might give him his Word, that he should not be injured on the way. *Macedonius* therefore being permitted by the Emperor to pass

(d) *Τὸ ἡμφοβέον*
τὸ ἐπισκοπεῖον αὐτοῦ
ἀφαιρέσθαι καὶ τὴν
διακονίαν παραστή-
ξαι ὡς ἐπὶ ἐπισκοπῇ,
(lege ὅ ὅπως ἐπὶ ἐ-
πισκοπῇ) πρὸς Εὐφ-
μήμιον.

his Word for his Security, did a thing that deserves Praise: He commanded his Deacon (d) to take off his Episcopal Robe, and, so he went into the Baptisterium of the Church to *Euphemius*. He took up Money likewise upon use, and gave it him to sustain his Company. If he had not thought him invalidly deposed, he would not have shew'd him that kind of respect.

2. That *Macedonius* being thus constituted was receiv'd as Patriarch of *Constantinople* by the Catholic Church. This is too notorious to need any Proof. I shall only observe, that he is called by *Zonaras* a Holy Man; and that the People of *Constantinople* submitted to him, tho' they loved *Euphemius* so well, and so much condemned the Proceedings against him, as to (e) raise a Sedition for his sake when first deprived.

(e) *Theodorus*
Lector, 'Ο μόνος
λαός δι' Εὐφήμιον ἐ-
παρίστανον, &c.

3. That when *Macedonius* sent his Synodical Letters to *Elias* Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, *Elias* received him as Patriarch, tho' at the same time he refused to subscribe to *Euphemius*'s Deprivation. (f) *Elias* (says *Cyrillus Scythopolitanus*) refused to give his Consent to *Euphemius*'s Deprivation, but *Macedonius* he received into Communion, when he found by his Synodical Letter that he was Orthodox. So between *Macedonius* and *Elias* there was Concord,

(f) *Τῇ Εὐφημίου*
ἐπιστολῇ, ἡλίας —
συναινῶντος ἐκ ἡνέκα-
στοῦ ἐν ᾧ μὴντοι δε-
δοχθῆναι τὴν χειροτονί-
αν, ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν
συνοδικῶν, ὅτι τὴν κοι-
νωνίαν ἐπέσχετο.

— ἢν τίνων ὁμολογία Μακεδονίου καὶ ἡλίας. V. Sabæ. c. 50.

4. So far was *Euphemius* from cherishing any Animosity against his Successor *Macedonius*, that after *Macedonius*, was likewise banished, they (a) visited one another as Friends, and were therefore both murdered by the Emperor's Command.

(a) *Libel. Synod.*
c. 110.

§. 5. It's alleged by one (b) of our Adversaries, that the *Novatians*, the *Donatists*, and the *Meletians* of *Egypt* were *Schismatics* in the Opinion of the Church, because the Bishops who first headed 'em were *Second Bishops*; but this is easily answered: For the Bishops, whom they followed, were not set up by any *Sovereign* coercive Power, in the room of others deposed, but were set up by inferior Persons, against others possessed of the Sees. I have already said, that it is not every one whom a *small* tumultuous Party shall get to be ordain'd, that ought to be received as a Bishop; but that which we maintain is this, That where the lawful Bishop is deposed by an *Irresistible* Party, there the Successor may be acknowledged. Here I cannot but take notice, that before *Majorinus*, the Head of the *Donatists*, was made Bishop of *Carthage* by that Party, *Cacilianus*, who was first possessed of the See, was deposed by a *Synod* of no less than Seventy Bishops; yet was owned by the Catholick Church, to have been all along the rightful Bishop even before he was confirmed by the Synods of *Rome* and *Arles*; and the other Party was accounted *Schismatical* from the very beginning. This our Adversaries who are pleased to Talk to much of *Synods*, would do well to consider. He never was thrust out of his See by the *Civil* Power, and the *Synod* no Body valued, tho' it was *Orthodox*; he was therefore owned, because he was still in Possession.

(b) The Unity
of Priest-hood, &c.
p. 58, 59.

C H A P. XVIII.

The Conclusion.

Bishops deposed by the Civil Authority obliged even in common Charity to acquiesce. But whether they acquiesce or not, the Church is to submit to the present Possessor.

I Have now done. And from what has been said, I think we may very well draw this Conclusion: That *supposing a Bishop deprived by the Secular Power is unjustly and invalidly deprived; supposing likewise that he does not acquiesce, but still lays claim to his Bishoprick; yet the Church may lawfully, and ought for peace sake, to receive the present Possessor, if otherwise unexceptionable.*

I shall here take my leave of those Readers to whom I have hitherto directed my Discourse, and address my self, with all due Reverence and Respect, to those reverend and worthy Persons, whose Dissatisfactions have occasion'd the writing of this Treatise.

If the Church is not obliged to adhere to an ejected Bishop who refuses to acquiesce, then 'tis certain that That Bishop, if he makes a *Separation*, is himself guilty of a *Schism*. We will now proceed to consider, in short, the Duty of an ejected Bishop; upon this Supposition, That there are some of our late Bishops that still lay Claim to the Obedience of their People, which, as has been observ'd in the Beginning of this Treatise, does not as yet *sufficiently* appear. And (for their sakes I speak it) may it never appear! We will suppose, if they please, that the Church ought not to submit to the present Possessor, unless the ejected Bishop gives his Consent. Let that be supposed. Yet if the Church, to avoid a Persecution, has actually done it, what then ought a *good* Bishop to do? Let us consider a little what the consequences of a *Schism* may be. To be engaged in a *Schism*, is, according to S. Cyprian, and our Adversaries themselves, to be out of the Church of Christ, and to be in a State of *Damnation*. And how can a *good* Bishop, one that ought to lay down even his Life for his Flock, see his People in a State of *Damnation*, when by onely his communicating with his Successor, they may be redeem'd? This deserves to be seriously consider'd.

'Tis the Advice of S. Clement, Bishop of Rome, to some turbulent Persons of Corinth, who disturbed the *Presbyters* of the Church, that they should, if they could not agree, rather leave that place than disturb the *Presbyters*, and hinder 'em in the Discharge of their Duty. This place of S. Clement I formerly understood, as if he had given that advice to the *Presbyters* themselves, that they should rather withdraw than be the occasion of Schisms and Divisions; and so easie it is to mistake it, that it's acknowledged by even some of my Adver-

Adversaries (a) that I rightly understood it: But upon perusing S. Clement's Epistle a second time, I agree with the learned *Vindicator*, that this is his Meaning---*Utinam mihi sic semper disputare contingat, ut ad meliora proficiens, deseram quod male tenebam*. That I heartily say with S. (b) *Jerom*, I could heartily wish that all were of the same Disposition: *Ceterum scimus quosdam* (I use S. (c) *Cyprian's* words) *quod semel imbibierunt nolle deponere, nec propositum suum facile mutare*.

Answer to a Treatise out of Eccles. Hist. p. 27. speaks doubtfully of it.

(b) Adv. Luciferianos.

(c) Ep. ad Steph. P.

(a) 'Tis true, S. *Clement* not onely advises the injur'd Presbyters at *Corinth*, but tells them it was their real Interest to withdraw. A farther Account of the Baroccian MS. p. 2.

The Author of the

That the Clergy ought not to be unjustly disturbed, is a thing we all agree in: It is likewise certain, that if they have Injury done 'em, they ought to have Amends made 'em. But the Question now is, Whether if the State has unjustly deposed 'em, and is resolv'd not to restore 'em, and the Church for Peace-sake has thought fit to submit, they that are injured ought not so to acquiesce, as that all People may be united, and the much greater Part retriev'd from the Spiritual Danger to which they are obnoxious? I have produced in my *Preface* to the *Baroccian Treatise* some Examples to shew how tender good Bishops have always been of their Flock and the Church's Peace. They deserve to be here also mention'd. When S. *Gregory Nazianzen* was Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and great Disturbances were rais'd in the Church on his account, he freely surrender'd up his Right, and in the *General Council* of *Constantinople*, thus address'd himself to the Bishops: 'Tis a base and unworthy thing, my Collegues and Co-pastors of the Flock of Christ, for you who teach others Peace, to stir up among your selves an intestine War. For how shall you be able to reduce others to Concord, who differ and disagree among your selves? By the Trinity it self I beseech you, to concert your Affairs peaceably and as becomes you. And if on my account there be any Dissentions, I am not better than the Prophet *Jonas*: Throw me into the Sea, and so shall you cease to be toss'd by the tempest of Tumults. Whatsoever you shall think fit, tho' I am not guilty of any thing, I will willingly endure in, if by that means there may be Concord preserv'd. Depose me from my Throne. Cast me out of the City. This onely I desire, that (to speak in the words of *Zacharias*) you would love Truth and Peace. When *Nectarius* was ordain'd, and sate as his Successor, he address'd himself to him, and desired him to take care against Hereticks: As for my own private Troubles (says he) I do not so much as reckon 'em among Evils: I regard onely the Afflictions of the Church. When the *African Church* was broken in pieces by the Schism of the *Donatists*, all the Catholick Bishops of that Church, to the number of near 300, made the *Donatists* this Offer, That, if they pleas'd, all the Bishops of both Parties should resign their Bishopricks; and new ones, whom both Parties should acknowledge, should be chosen in their places: This Offer they publicly make in the first Conference of *Carthage* in their Epistle to *Marcellinus* the

(a) So I call him, because in that *Confession* he was deputed by the Emperor *Honorius* to represent him as Judge by a particular Commission. Because I did not call him by his old Title of *Triumvir Notarius*, one of my Answerers says he does not believe that I ever lookt into *S. Austin* or the *Conference of Carthage* which I quoted. This both He, and all others, may rely upon, That I never quote Authors, but I have either read 'em my self or tell from whom I quote 'em.

the Emperor's (a) *Viceroy*. For why (say they) should we doubt to offer up to our Redeemer the Sacrifice of such a Humility? Did he descend into a Human Body from Heaven, that we might be Members of him, and shall we scruple to descend from our Thrones to preserve his Body from being torn in pieces by a cruel Division? 'Tis sufficient for us that we are faithfull and obedient Christians: Let us therefore so continue. We are ordain'd Bishops for the sake of the People of Christ: That therefore which conduces to the peace of Christ's Church, let us do according to the Duty of Bishops. If we are profitable Servants; how can we prefer our Temporal Honours to the Eternal Rewards of our Lord. The Episcopal Dignity will be more advantageous to us, if, by being resign'd, it may gather together the Flock of Christ, than if it disperses it by being retain'd. For with what face shall we hope for those Honours which are promis'd by Christ in the World to come, if our pretending to our Honours here in this World does hinder the Unity of the Church. Who can believe that these great Men, if they had been unjustly deposed by the Civil Authority, would therefore have broken the Peace of the Church, and separated from the Communion of their Successors? 'Tis a Saying of *S. Dionysius* Bishop of Alexandria, That *Schism* is more to be avoided than *Idolatry* is self; because by avoiding *Idolatry*, we consult only our own private Good; but by avoiding *Schism*, we consult the Good of all the whole Church. This he writes to *Novatian*, who had set up himself against *Cornelius* as Bishop of Rome. And he tells him, That if he was chosen against his Will (as he had pretended) he ought to shew it by resigning voluntarily: That he ought to endure any thing that the Church of God might not be divided. This Authority our Adversaries are pleas'd to urge for themselves: But they do not consider how different their Case is from that of *Cornelius*. They do not consider, that *Cornelius* was never deposed, was still in Possession, still own'd by all the Churches of the World, *Novatian* being own'd but by a very small Party. If *Cornelius* had been irretrievably deposed by the Civil Power, if *Novatian* had been chosen by the Church in his place, and been own'd by almost all, if such had been *Cornelius*'s Case, who can believe but that *S. Dionysius*, who thought *Schism* worse than *Idolatry*, would have exhorted him to acquiesce, that so there might be an end put to the *Schism*? Our Adversaries ought to consider, that it is not the Cession of the Bishops now in Possession, that can restore those that are deposed. And 'tis the Duty of every good Bishop to consider not what is his Right, but what is likely to conduce to the Peace of the Church. 'Tis his Duty, as *S. Dionysius* says, to endure any thing that the Church of God may not be divided.

When (b) *Throdasius* Bishop of *Synada*, was deposed by the People, and *Agapetus* the Bishop of the *Macedonian Hereticks*, was, upon his turning to the Orthodox Faith, together with his Followers, made Bishop in his stead, he appealed to *Articus* the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, but the Patriarch advising him to acquiesce, and

(b) *Sam. L. 7. c. 3.*

and to prefer the Good of the Publick before his private advantage, he contented himself with a private Life. When Maximianus Bishop of Bagai in Africa, was opposed by his People, who were not willing to be under him, he quietly gave up his Right, and he is highly praised for it by S. (a) *Austin*. It is far more glorious (says S. *Austin* on that occasion) to give up ones Bishoprick, for the securing the Church from Dangers, than to take it upon one. For he who does not unworthily defend the Honour he received, plainly shews, that he would have been worthy of it, if the Church's Peace would have permitted him to keep it.— May Maximianus be repaid with that everlasting Peace, which is promised the Church, because he esteemed that, not expedient for him, which was not expedient for the Church. Those many Examples of a peaceable Acquiescence, which we have produced in the foregoing Discourse, I shall not here repeat. I shall not mention the Example of S. *Elias* Patriarch of Jerusalem, nor that of *Eutychius*, Patriarch of Constantinople, nor that of S. *Anastasius*, Patriarch of Antioch, nor those of S. *Eustatius*, and *Euphemius*. I shall not mention that *Ignatius* Patriarch of Constantinople declared, that if *Photius* had been otherwise unexceptionable, he would have yielded to him: Neither shall I mention, that S. *Martin*, when in Banishment, prayed for his Successor. These and many more Examples of a peaceful and pious Acquiescence, I leave to the serious Consideration of those that are concerned.

It's alleged by the Author of a late Pamphlet, Entituled, *Of Christian Communion to be kept on in the Unity of Christ's Church*, that the ejected Bishops are not obliged to acquiesce, but rather to Act still as Bishops; because it is the Duty of all Bishops and Clergymen to stand to, and preach up, all good Doctrines: but (says he) if they should resign, there are some good Doctrines, which in these times will not be defended. This is the Summ of all that concerns us. In answer to which, I shall only desire the Author to consider, that according to that Notion there is no Separation; but what may easily be defended. What Dissenter is there amongst us, that can't make the same Plea?

I desire to be pardon'd, for presuming to offer my Advice. I can truly say of those reverend Men, what S. *Cyprian* does of *Maximus* and his Associates, who were ere-while Confessors, and afterwards engaged in a Schism. (b) *I am extremely sorry, that I cannot Communicate with those whom I had begun to love.* God grant, that like *Maximus* and his Associates, they that were lately our Confessors, may be again united to the Church. I cannot but grieve when I consider those Persons in a *Meeting-house*, whom I so much loved and revered in the *Tower*.

(a) *Epist. 238. Longe est quippe gloriosius, Episcopatus iuramentum propter Ecclesiam vitanda pericula deposuisse, quam propter regenda gubernacula suscipisse: Ille quippe se laudem si pacis ratio pateretur, digne accipere potuisse demonstrat qui acceptum non defendit INDIGNE.— Retribatur ei pax aeterna, quae promissa est Ecclesiae, qui intellexit sibi non expedire quod paci non expediat Ecclesiae.*

(b) *Ep. 54. Ad Maximum & ceteros Confessores, ex Schismate ad Ecclesiam reversos. Dolebam vehementer & graviter angebar quod cum eis communicare non pos-*

sum quos semel diligere cepissem.

THE
CASE of SEES

VACANT

By an Unjust or Uncanonical
DEPRIVATION,

STATED
In Reply to a TREATISE
ENTITLED

A Vindication of the Deprived Bishops, &c.

TOGETHER WITH

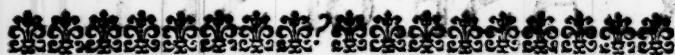
The several other Pamphlets lately publish'd as
Answers to the BAROCCIAN TREATISE.

By HUMPHRY NODY, D. D.
Fellow of Wadh. Coll. in Oxford.

*Abstineamus nos à Convitiis ne tempus inaniter impendamus, & ad id quod agitur inter nos potius advertamus. S. Aug. Ep. ad Pascentium Comitem.
Non enim vincimur, quando offeruntur nobis meliora, sed instruimur; maxime in his, quæ ad Ecclesiæ unitatem pertinent, & spei & fidei nostræ veritatem. S. Cyr.*

L O N D O N,

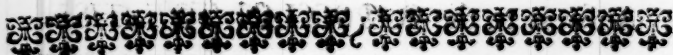
Printed by J. H. for Henry Mortlock, at the Phenix
in St. Paul's Church-Yard. MDCXCH.



Imprimatur.

*Geo. Royse, R. R^{mo} in Christo Patri
ac D^{no} D^{no} Johanni Archiep. Can-
tuar. à Sacris Domest.*

*Decemb. 1.
1692.*



To the most Reverend Father in God

JOHN,

By Divine Providence

Lord Archbishop of CANTERBURY

His GRACE

Primate of all *England* and Metropolitan.

May it please your Grace,

T*His Treatise being design'd for the Service of the Church as at present Establish'd, I presume to make your Grace this humble offer of it. It must be confest that the greatness of the Subject deserves a more able Manager : but, my Lord, that favourable Acceptance with which you were pleas'd to honour the Baroccian Treatise, has encouraged me to hope, that your Grace will likewise be pleas'd to accept of these Endeavours, and to excuse and pardon the Defects of*

Your GRACE's

Most dutifull Servant,

Suppose these advances to be his, yet as his greatness, without
 diminish, & principally, upon which his seat. But if some body
 needed for the sake of peace from his personal rights upon him
 dependent upon a similar authority, and a lawful power, do
 you imagine, that he would have done so, if he had been deposed
 by an usurper, or that only because they would not own his authority
 in opposition to the lawful power? For they say, that the
 practice of good by ~~was~~ upon a state deputation, as it
 submit & yield to the superior, provided he was not a law. Now
 I would fain know, whether ^{personal} doctrine is what
 receives for safety & ~~protection~~ ^{security} of the church, as a sign
 of faith; if so, I know not why a good by should
 stand a couple yield to his superior, who presides him to
 the remembrance of our moral practice any more than
 if he were inferior in faith. For instance, we must allow that
 a by, deposed, say not yield to his superior, provided, this superior
 should maintain & profess that he is but one rather in xth or
 if he, that he, are not distinguished but confounded & in
 mystical union, we would then not be as much separated
 by Christ, & the laws of men & especially that he, a by
 ought not to be acknowledged who should profess, that
 his people that lawful power may be deposed & his
 subjects for treason, or if not lawful to depose, you
 yet when it is done will ought to submit & maintain
 & uphold, as from high crimes & nature of faith of
 the one only nature of the one or of the confusion of the two.
 Rather, high are crimes & nature of faith & of the one
 one, or are not, & others to be nature of practice, or
 this is the present case.

To the Reader.

THere are *two* things which they that separate from the Communion of the Church on the account of Bishops deposed by the Civil Authority, are obliged to make out, to justify themselves from the Charge of *Schism* :

1. *That the Civil Power has no Authority in any Case whatever to deprive a Bishop of his See.*

2. *That no Bishop that is put into the place of another deposed by an incompetent Authority ought to be own'd.*

If they cannot make out *both* these Propositions, they do nothing at all. For if we may lawfully submit to a Bishop put into the place of another deprived by the Civil Power, tho' the Civil Power had no Authority to deprive, it must thence follow that They are guilty of *Schism* who separate from the Church on such an account, because there is nothing can justify a Separation from the Church, when we may lawfully communicate with it.

But on the other Side, the Case is quite different. They that own the present Possessor in opposition to one deposed by the Civil Power, are, to justify their Adherence to him, obliged to make out but *only one* thing: Either,

1. *That the Civil Power may lawfully deprive a Bishop of his See for Crimes (or reputed Crimes) purely Political: Such as are here supposed: or,*

2. *That if it cannot lawfully do so, yet if it has actually done it, and another, unexceptionable on all other accounts, is establish'd in the See, it is lawful, for Peace-sake, to own the Possessor.*

This Advantage We have of our Adversaries. The *Baroccian Treatise*, which I lately publish'd, is a Proof of the last Proposition. It supposes, that Bishops deprived *uncanonically*, whether by *Princes* onely, or by *Synods*, (it produces Examples of both kinds) are *unjustly* and *invalidly* deprived; yet shews, that we ought not to separate on that account from the Communion of the *Present Possessor*. Never was a poor Treatise more hardly and severely used by its Adversaries, than that has been! This was a Proposition that our Adversaries were not aware of. They were therefore highly concern'd to employ all their Art to weaken the Authority of that Treatise. But for all the hard Names they have so liberally be-

To the READER.

below'd upon it, they are forced to confess by their *Practice*, that it carries with it a great deal of Strength. If to be oppos'd by *seven* several *Answerers*, the latter not satisfied with what the former had urged, be an Argument of *Strength* in a *Treatise*, we may still believe (and I hope it was so) that the finding it out at this Juncture had something of the *vi Oñer* in it.

I presume the Reader will expect I should give him some Account of these *seven* several *Answers* which have been publish'd against it. I shall lay down the Titles of 'em in the same Order as they came to my hands.

1. *The Oxford Antiquity examin'd, &c.*
2. *An Answer to a Treatise out of Ecclesiastical History, translated from an antient Greek MS. in the Publick Library at Oxford, by Humphry Hody, B. D. &c.*
3. *Epistola ad Hunfredum Hody, &c. de Tractatu à Scriniis Baroccianis Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ eruto, & ab illo nuper edito, conscripta.*
4. *A farther Account of the Baroccian MS. lately publish'd at Oxford.*
5. *Reflections on the Greek MS. translated by Mr. Hody.* This is not Printed, but was put into my hands in a MS.
6. *A Vindication of the Deprived Bishops, asserting their Spiritual Right against a Lay-Deprivation, against the Charge of Schism, &c.*

These *six* are profess'dly and entirely in Answer to the *Baroccian Treatise*. But the Author of this last mention'd was (I know not how) so unhappy as to mistake the *Question*: He writes against the *Treatise* as if the Design of it were to vindicate the Authority of the *Civil Power* in depriving Bishops: But that is not the Design of the *Treatise*; neither was it my Design in publishing it. And from this strange Mistake it comes to pass, that a great part of what that Author says is nothing at all to our Purpose.

7. *Unity of Priesthood necessary to the Unity of the Church, with some Reflections on the Oxford MS. and the Preface annex.*

The Vindication of the Authority of the Civil Power in Depriving a Bishop for Political Crimes, I reserve for a particular *Treatise*. My Business at present is to manage the last Proposition, that advanced by the *Baroccian Treatise*. In Reply to these several *Answers*, I here present our Adversaries with an *Impartial History of the Church's Behaviour (throughout all Ages) under Bishops put into the Places of others Deposed by a Lay, or otherwise Invalid, Sentence*. I grant at present, that all *Lay-Deprivations* are *invalid*; I suppose the worst in all Cases. Suppose the Deprivation was not only *unanimous*, but also *unjust*: Suppose the Depriver not only
a Lay-

To the READER.

a *Lay-man*, but doubly unqualified by being likewise a *Heretick*: Suppose besides, that the ejected Bishop was deprived for adhering to the *Truth*, and for opposing *Vice* or *Heresy*: Notwithstanding all this, I assert, That if he was deprived by a Power *irresistible*, a Submission to the present Possessor (if otherwise unexceptionable) is *lawfull*, and warranted by the general Practice of the *Antients*.

It is not my Design to detain my Reader long in a *Preface*. Only one or two things I desire of him.

If any thing here in this Treatise seem *long* and *tedious* to him, I desire he would be pleas'd to consider, that my Design was to make this Discourse as perfect as I could, that so, if possible, it might put an End to this *Controversie*. And if our Adversaries shall be pleas'd to publish a *Reply* to what is here written, I desire he would seriously compare and weigh one Treatise with the other, consider if the *main* and *more Substantial* Parts of this Treatise are answer'd, then judge for himself, and not expect that of Course there must be another Reply. As I am not so vain as to think my self clear from Error, so neither am I conscious to my self of having been so *Careless* and *Indiligent* as to think I am often mistaken, I mean in things *material*. I hate everlasting *Wrangle*. And an Adversary that *Cavils*, and excepts against things *not material*, I shall think deserves a *Reply* as little as one that *Rails*.

'Twill be hard, I know, to persuade our Adversaries, that the *History* I here present 'em, is (what I call it) *Impartial*. But this Assurance I give 'em: *I have written nothing but what I myself believe*. That may be; perhaps they will say: But you have not written *all* that you believe: You have not told all you know. Why truly, as to that, I know not what to answer. Since the Judgments of Men are so extremely different, as that some have *sanjy'd* that the *Canons* I omitted, when I publish'd the *Baroccian Treatise*, are really a Part of that *Treatise*, and ought to have been publish'd with it; there is nothing so *Impertinent* but what some or other may *sanse* I ought to have mention'd. I cannot promise but that there may be more *Canons*. But least it should be suspected, that tho' I have produced many Instances for the Cause I have undertaken to defend, there are others, as good, and as many, that make against us, which I have designedly conceal'd; I shall here make this solemn Declaration: That if any of our Adversaries (I speak to all in general, but my Eye is particularly upon the learned *Vindicator*) can produce me any one single Instance from the time of *Aaron*, the first *High-priest* of the *Jews*, to this very day, of a *High priest* disown'd by the *Jews*, or a *Bishop* disown'd by the *Generality* of the *Catholick Church* for this Reason, because put into the place of another deposed by the *Civil Authority*: If they
can

To the READER.

can shew me, I say, any one single Instance, I shall own my self obliged for the Instruction. I assure my *Reader*, that after a *nice* and *very curious* Search I know not one.

Should our Adversaries be able to produce such an Example ('as I think they will never be able) 'twill advantage their Cause but little, especially if it be one of the later Ages, since it is not agreeable to the Practice of the Church in general. But if they are not able to produce so much as one single Example, how rashly have they acted, who have separated themselves from the Church on such an account!

I conclude in the Words of *Drusus*, which I here make my own:
Scripsi hæc animo juvandi, non lædendi. Si læsi quempiam, jam me penitet.
Si offendi pias aures, monitus libenter mutabo. Si erravi uspiam, monstratur mihi error, non ero pertinax.

Pag. 5. lin. 40. Whatsoever is *notoriously* repugnant to the Church's Interest, so as to be *necessarily* productive of very great Evils, is so far from being obliging, that it would be a Sin to act according to it.—Least that Proposition should be misunderstood; after the words, *of very great Evils*: add (I speak of Oaths of Canonical Obedience).

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C H A P. V.

The Catholics of Alexandria reject Lucius, because he was an Arian, not because his Predecessor Peter, was unjustly deposed by the Emperor. Our Adversaries Doctrine not known to the said Peter. §. 1. S. Briccius of Tours deposed by the People: Yet Justinian and Armentius his Successors, are own'd as true Bishops of Tours. Armentius is own'd as true Bishop by S. Briccius himself, though he had never given up his Right, but had always claim'd it. §. 2. S. Euthymius refuses to communicate with Theodosius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, because he was a Heretick, and had embred his hands in the Blood of many Persons, not because the Patriarch Juvenalis, whose See he had usurpt, was still living. Theodosius's Ordinations are allow'd of as valid. §. 3. Acacius, Patriarch of Constantinople, refuses to communicate with Timotheus Elurus, not because he was put into the place of Timotheus Salofaciolus, unjustly deposed by the Heretical Usurper Basiliscus, but because he was a Heretick and a Parricide. §. 4. Jo. Talaias, the Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria being deposed by the bare Authority of the Emperor Zenô, though he still laid claim to the See, yet Petrus Mongus his Successor, is acknowledged by all that accounted him Orthodox; by Acacius and Fravitas, Patriarchs of Constantinople by Martyrius Patriarch of Jerusalem, by (almost) all the Bishops of the Eastern Church; That they who refused to communicate with Mongus, viz. the Western Bishops, the Bishops of Dardania, &c. did it only because they thought him a Heretick; That Euphemius Patriarch of Constantinople communicated with him till he found him to be a Heretick, then forsook his Communion. Pope Simplicius, when he heard that Talaias was to be deposed, was well enough satisfied, till he understood, that Mongus, whom he accounted a Heretick, was design'd for his Successor. whether Orthodox Bishops unjustly ejected by the Emperor be restor'd, or new Orthodox Bishops be created, he values not, he only desires that they that are made Bishops should be Orthodox. Pope Felix III. not at all concern'd for Talaias's being deprived without a Synod, only dislikes that one, whom he accounted a Heretick, was constituted in his place. §. 5. Calendon Patriarch

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triarch of Antioch, being deposed by the Emperor Zeno, without any Synod, the Orthodox Bishops, viz. Pope Felix III. Quintianus Asculanus, Justinus Siculus, Acacius Constantinopolitanus, Antheon Arfinoites, Faustus Apolloniates, Pamphilus Abydenis, Asclepiades of Trallium, &c. refuse to communicate with his Successor, Petrus Gnapheus, only because he was a Heretick; take no notice of his being constituted in the room of one Unsynodically deposed, and are ready to communicate with him as a true Patriarch of Antioch, if he will but forsake his Heresy.

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C H A P. VI.

Macedonius Patriarch of Constantinople being violently Deposed by the Heretical Emperor Anastasius, his Successor Timotheus is acknowledged by all that accounted him Orthodox, though at the same time they profess'd that the Deprivation of Macedonius was unjust, and could never be induced by any Terrors to subscribe to it, viz. by Flavianus Patriarch of Antioch, Elias Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Abbot of the Monastery of Studium, the (Orthodox) People of Constantinople, by the great Abbots of Palestine, S. Sabas, and S. Theodosius, and by all Palestine in general, at that time exceedingly flourishing for its zealous Profession of the Orthodox Faith. The Calumnies of the Vindicator concerning the Apostasy of the Patriarchs Flavianus and Elias, confuted. Timotheus not known to them to be a Heretick when they communicated with him. They are Honoured by the Church as Saints.

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C H A P. VII.

Flavianus Patriarch of Antioch being deposed by the Emperor Anastasius, his Successor Severus is rejected by the Orthodox only because he was a Heretick. Elias Patriarch of Jerusalem being violently deposed by the said Emperor, his Successor John is immediately acknowledged by all the People, though at the same time they hated him: by the whole Church of Palestine; particularly the two great Abbots, S. Sabas and S. Theodosius, so famous for their Undauntedness and Sanctity: by Johannes Capadox Patriarch of Constantinople, and all the Greek Church: by all the whole Church ever since those Times. The Testimony of Photius Patriarch of Constantinople out of a Manuscript. The old Patriarch Elias, though so Tyrannically Deprived for adhering to the Orthodox Faith, continues however to communicate with those who acknowledged his Successor.

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CHAP. IX.

Macarius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, being deposed by the Emperour Justinian, his Successor Eustochius is own'd as a true Patriarch by the Fifth General Council and the whole Catholick Church. After some time Eustochius himself is deposed by the Emperour, and Macarius, being restored, is received by the Church. According to our Adversaries Principles, either Eustochius, or Macarius, after his Restauration, was no true Patriarch: yet the Church receiv'd both.

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CHAP. X.

Eutychius Patriarch of Constantinople being violently deposed by the Emp. Justinian for refusing to subscribe to his Heresie, John surnamed Scholasticus is made Patriarch in his room. After John was consecrated Patriarch, Eutychius was condemned by an Assembly that consisted as well of Lay Lords as Bishops, not only of Ecclesiasticks as the Vindicator contends. He actually lays claim to the See, despises the Sentence of his Judges as null and invalid, because they proceeded unjustly and uncanonically against him, and Excommunicates them. Notwithstanding all this, his Successor, because he prov'd Orthodox, was receiv'd and own'd by all the Church as a true Patriarch: He continu'd in the See near 13. years; near 12. years under Justin the Younger an Orthodox Emp. He is own'd by the Church of Constantinople, tho' at the same time Eutychius was exceedingly belov'd. John an Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria is consecrated by him. For what reason Anastasius Patriarch of Antioch reprov'd the Patriarch of Alexandria for being ordain'd by him. Anastasius did not refuse to communicate with him. He is Honour'd by the Patriarch Photius with the Title of Saint.

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Tho' Eutychius lookt upon his Deprivation as absolutely invalid, and tho' he never resign'd but accounted himself still the rightful Patriarch, yet he liv'd quietly, and never endeavour'd to make a Division in the Church. Dr. Crakanthorp's Opinion, that Eutychius was deposed for being a Heretick, confuted. The Authority of the Life of Eutychius, often quoted in this Chapter, vindicated against the same Author. Page 101.

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S. Anastasius, Senior, Patriarch of Antioch, being deposed without any Synod by the Emperor Justin, Junior, tho' he never resign'd, yet his Successor Gregory is own'd by all the Church. He continued Patriarch till his Death, for the space of 23 Years, the old Patriarch Anastasius being all the while living. Four Saints among those that lived at that time and communicated freely with him: S. Symeon Stylites, Junior, Pope Gregory the Great, S. Eulogius Patriarch of Alexandria, S. John Nestutes Patriarch of Constantinople. Pope Gregory communicates with him as Patriarch of Antioch, tho' at the same time he declares Anastasius's Deprivation to be invalid, and looks upon Anastasius to be the rightfull Patriarch. S. Anastasius, though deposed by the Lay-power, and though he had never given up his Right, yet never left the Communion of the Church. Page 121.

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*the Church on his Account. He afterwards yields to Repentment, and refuses to Communicate with his Successors, Arsacius, and Atticus, because they had been his Enemies, and had a hand in his Deprivation. The Joannites acted by their Passions, not by Principles: They separate from the Church, not because there was another made Patriarch in S. Chrysostom's place, but before that was done. Arsacius being made Patriarch they refuse to Communicate with him, not because he was put into S. Chrysostom's place, but through Hatred against St. Chrysostom's Deposers, because they frequented his Churches. Pope Innocent of Rome not consistent with himself. His Practice contradicts his Words. He did not think Arsacius and Atticus no Bishops. His Zeal for the Honour of his own See, the chief Cause of his Opposing 'em. He at last receives Atticus as a true Patriarch: The Vindicator's Exception against the Translation of the word *ἐκπαριστρέφω* in the Baroccian Treatise, confuted. The Eastern Bishops refuse to separate from the Communion of the Church, tho' S. Chrysostom laid Claim to his See, and actually separated, and tho' they esteemed his Deprivation invalid. So did the Monks of Egypt. The Testimony of S. Nicon, out of a MS. S. Nicon himself, tho' he esteemed his Deprivation extremely unjust; yet approves of those that did not separate on his Account. S. Chrysostom takes it for granted, as a thing of Course, that all would immediately resolve to choose a new Patriarch in his room. The Patriarch Atticus highly esteemed by the whole African Church. The Ecclesiastical Historian, Socrates, disapproves of S. Chrysostom's Deprivation; yet speaks of Arsacius and Atticus, as of true Patriarchs. Theodoret extremely offended at the Injustice of his Deposers, yet reckons both Arsacius and Atticus among the Patriarchs of Constantinople. They are both owned in all the Catalogues of the Patriarchs. Their Ordinations never questioned by any. Atticus praised by P. Celestine I. and owned to be a true Successor of S. Chrysostom.*

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CHAP. XVIII.

The Conclusion.

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The CASE of SEES Vacant, by an Unjust or Uncanonical Deprivation, Stated, &c.

CHAP. I

The Reasonableness of submitting to the present Possessor, if otherwise unexceptionable, tho' the Predecessor was unjustly or invalidly deposed by the Secular Power, demonstrated. Objections answer'd. No obligation to the contrary by the Oath of Canonical Obedience. The Authority of S. Cyprian unreasonably alleg'd by our Adversaries. The Vindicator's Notion of Heresy not at all to his Purpose.

THE Doctrine maintain'd by the Author of the Barocian Treatise, is this; *That supposing a Bishop depriv'd without any Synod by the Civil Power, is unjustly depriv'd; yet neither He himself, nor the People, ought to separate from the Communion of his Successor, provided that Successor is not a Heretick.* In answer to that Treatise, it is alleg'd by some of our Adversaries, That not onely *Heresy*, but *Schism* likewise, and *Excommunication* make a Person incapable of being receiv'd as a Bishop. It is manifest, says one of our * Answerers, that the Principles advanced by the Author of the Barocian Treatise, make all Church-Censures ineffectual, and expose the Church to all the Mischiefs of Erastianism. For if a Prince should prefer an excommunicated Person to the See of the Bishop, by whom he stands excommunicated, supposing onely that he was not excommunicated for Heresy, this Person, tho' never so justly excommunicated, must be own'd and obey'd instead of the Bishop who excommunicated him; which lodges all Church-Power in the Prince, and makes all Ecclesiastical Censures of no effect for the Benefit and Preservation of the Church, whenever he pleases. All this He very well knew was nothing at all to his Purpose, and nothing against either ours, or our Author's Cause: But he likewise knew, it would have been less to his Purpose to have told his Reader so. To avoid all impertinent Cavil, that we may not run off from the Scope and Design of our Writing, I shall take leave to alter the last Clause of the Proposition thus: *Provided that Successor be in all other Respects such whose Communion no good Catholic can justly refuse.*

* An Answer to a Treatise out of Eccles. History, &c. in the Preface.

§. 2. Having laid down fairly our Proposition, and secured it (if that may be possible) from all Cavil, We will now proceed to demonstrate the Truth of it. And this we shall do, first, from the *Reasonableness* of it; and, 2dly. from the *Authority and Practice of the Antients*; by which the *Reasonableness* of it will more certainly and evidently appear.

§. 3. First from the *Reasonableness* of it: And that is grounded on this certain and self-evident Maxim; That *whatsoever is necessary for the present Peace and Tranquillity of the Church, that ought to be made use of, provided it is not in it self sinfull, and the ill Consequences, which may possibly attend it, are either not so mischievous to the Church, or at least not so likely to happen as the Evils we endeavour to avoid.* That this was a Maxim of the *Antients*, We shall easily find, if we please but to cast our eyes back upon their Times, and consider those Methods, which were wont to be made use of in the Church. We shall find, that in all manner of Cases, They always prefer'd the *Peace and Tranquillity* of the Church to all other Things, the *Essentials* of Religion excepted. There was no *Custom* or *Law* of the Church so sacred and inviolable, but what they readily sacrificed, whensoever *Necessity* requir'd, to the *Peace and Tranquillity* of it. If the exact *Observation* of the receiv'd *Customs* and *Canons* of the Church was not like to conduce to the present *Peace and Tranquillity* of it, they were readily superseded, and *Necessity* and *Convenience* became the only *Legislators*. To prefer a *Rule* of the Church to the *Welfare and Prosperity* of it, and to stand to the *Saying* of a *Father* in *Opposition* to a *Law of Necessity*, is a sort of *Theological Pedantry*, which They were not guilty of. They were wont to consider like truly Wise men, the *Circumstances* and the *Exigencies* of the Times; and they knew that those *Customs* and *Canons* of the Church, which were proper in the Times of *Peace*, could never indispensably oblige in Times of a different *Complexion*. To prevent, or to heal the *Diseases* of the Church, they acted like *Philosophers*, not like *Empericks*; consider'd what ought to be done in this and that particular Case; what was truly *expedient*, not what had been *prescrib'd* when the *Symptoms* were not the same. Tho' of all the *General Councils*, there was none so rever'd as the *Nicene*; and tho' among all the *Canons* of that Council there was none so Religiously and so Universally observ'd, as that which makes it unlawfull for any one City to have two Bishops; and altho' that had always been a

* *Si Cypr. Ep. 55. ad Anton. Urge ille evangelii vindex, ignorabat unum Episcopum esse oportere in Ecclesia Catholica*, says Cornelius Bishop of Rome in his Epistle to Fabius of Antioch. *Ap. Euseb. Hist. l. 6. c. 43. concerning Novatian. To have two Bishops in one and the same City is adversum fas Sacerdotii singularis*, says Pacianus Epist. 3. *ad Sympricianum Novatianum.*

(a) *Collat. Corinth. 1. c. 16,*

(b) *Theodoret Hist. Eccl. l. 5. c. 3.*

(c) And by the Synod of *Sirmium* to the Clergy and People of *Rome* in the Case of *Felix and Liberius*, as *Sozomen* says, *l. 4. c. 15.* but that Synod was not *Orthodox*, but *arian*.

* Rule of the *Catholick Church* long before the time of that Council; yet *S. Augustine*, and all the other *Catholick Bishops* of *Africa*, thought fit to (a) propose that *Expedient* to their Adversaries the *Donatists*, for the putting an End to their Schism. And the same *Expedient* was (b) proposed (c) by *Meletius* Bishop of *Antioch* to the Anti-bishop *Paulinus*, for the putting an End to that Schism that was between them. Thus when Queen *Chrodiele* of *France* had made the Bishops.

Bishops *Theodorus* and *Proculus* Archbishops of *Tonra* (a) together, the whole *Gallican* Church (because they were both very old; and so the Inconvenience of suffering it was not like to be so great as that of opposing the Queen) edg'd 'em. And tho' it is expressly forbidden by the aforesaid (b) Council of *Nice*, and likewise by the more ancient Canons or Rules of the Church, That one Bishop alone should Ordain another; and three at least are positively requir'd by that Council, how great soever the Necessity may be; tho' it were moreover unlawfull for any one to be Ordain'd a Bishop without the Consent of the Metropolitan, and a Bishop so Ordain'd is declar'd (c) by that Council uncapable of governing as a Bishop: Yet when *Siderius* had been ordain'd Bishop of *Palestina* by (d) the single Bishop of *Cyrene* (a bold and resolute Man, one who often transgress'd the Orders of his Superiors) and that too without the knowledge of *S. Athanasius* the Metropolitan; because of the badness of the Times, (it being in the Reign of the *Avian* Emperor *Valens*.) *Athanasius* allow'd of his Orders: and because he was *Orthodox*, he was so far from depriving him of his Bishoprick, that he prefer'd him to a greater. He (e) yielded, faith *Synesius*, to the Necessity of the Times. 'Tis a Saying of the same Author, (himself a Bishop, and a very great Man,) where he speaks concerning that Matter; viz. in one of his Epistles to the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, *Theophilus*: (f) In dangerous Times it is necessary not to observe Rules. Tho' Nothing was more unlawfull than to be made a Bishop *Simoniacally*, or by the meer Force of the Lay-power; and tho' (as the Author of the (g) Pontifical attests) *Silverius* obtain'd the Popedom of *Rome* by both these unlawfull Means; yet after he was Ordain'd, the Peace of the Church requiring it, he was own'd and receiv'd by all. He had given a Summ of Money to the Tyrant *Theodatus*, the King of the *Goths*, and the Tyrant threaten'd, that whosoever refus'd to consent to his Election should be punish'd with Death. The Bishops however refus'd to subscribe, and so he was made Pope without any consent of theirs. But after he was Ordain'd (says the Author of the Pontifical) they subscrib'd for the sake of the Unity of the Church and of Religion. Tho' the Synod of *C.P.* before whom the Patriarch *Alexius* was accus'd for his having been promoted to that Dignity by the bare authority of the Emperour, without the Votes of the Clergy, lookt upon his Promotion to be altogether unlawfull; yet when he pleaded, that he had Ordain'd many Bishops, and that if they depriv'd him, they must likewise deprive all those whom he had Ordain'd; upon that bare (h) Consideration, because to Deprive so many was likely to occasion a great Disturbance in the Church, they over-ruled the Accusation, and determin'd nothing against him. When

(a) *Greg. Turon. Hist.*
l. ro. c. 31.

very freely acknow-

(b) *Can. 4.*

(c) *Can. 6.*

(d) *Synesius Epist.*
67.

(e) *Διὰ τὸ το
παρακαλεῖται Ἀθανάσιος
ὁ ἐκζητῶν τὴν
καταστάσιν.*

(f) *Ἄλλ' ἀνὰ γὰρ
δὲ ἐκ κατὰ τὴν ἀπα
φροσύνης τὴν ἐκείνου
ἀνταρθεύειν.*

(g) *S. Silverius levatus est à Theodato Tyranno sine deliberatione Decreti: qui Theodatus corruptus pecunia dedit talem simonem induxit Clero, ut qui non consentiret in ejus Ordinationem gladio puniretur. Qui quidem Sacerdotes non subscripserunt in eum secundum morem antiquum vel Decretum confirmaverunt ante Ordinationem: Jam vero ordinatus sub vi & metu Silverio propter adinationem Ecclesie & Religionis postmodum sic subscripserunt Episcopi.*

(h) *Zonaras Annal.*
p. 190.

Calendon

(a) *Simplicius Papa in Epist. ad Zenonem Imp.*

* By which it is enacted, That all Bishops should be Ordain'd by Bishops of their respective Provinces. *Can. 4.*

(b) *Epist. 16. ad Acacium. Quod sicut non optavimus fieri, ita faciles excusationi quam necessitas fecit existimus; quia quod voluntarium non est, non potest vocari in ratum.*

Calendon was made Patriarch of *Antioch* by the Emperor *Zeno*; and Ordain'd by *Acacius* the Patriarch of *C.P.* tho' that (a) was unlawful by the * Canons of the Council of *Nice*; and directly contrary to the constant Custom of the Catholick Church; yet because it was done, as the Emperor and *Acacius* alleg'd, to avoid Seditions in *Antioch*, the Proceeding was approv'd of by *Simplicius* Bishop of *Rome*. Tho' I wish, (b) says he, that it had not been done, yet I easily excused it, because it was done through Necessity: For that which is not voluntary (i.e. that which is done onely for Convenience or Necessity's sake) cannot be imputed as a Fault. These Examples and Authorities may serve to shew in general, That there are no Laws or Customs of the Church so sacred, but what our Wise Forefathers thought ought to be postpon'd to the present Welfare and Prosperity of it. That the same was their Opinion in reference to our particular Case, We shall hereafter shew in its due Place.

§. 4. Our Proposition being thus establish'd on that sure Maxim, acknowledg'd (as has been shewn) by the Antients; That whatsoever is necessary for the Peace and Tranquillity of the Church, that ought to be made use of, provided that it is not in it self Sinfull; and that the ill Consequences, which may possibly attend it, are either not so mischievous to the Church, or at least not so likely to happen, as the Evils we endeavour to avoid. There are two Things which I am oblig'd to make out; First, That the Submitting to a Bishop put into the place of another unjustly Depos'd by the Civil Authority, is not in it self Sinfull: And, 2dly. That the ill Consequences, to which it is liable, are either not so mischievous to the Church, or at least not so likely to happen, as the Evils we endeavour to avoid.

§. 5. First, It is not in it self Sinfull: For if it is so, it must be so for one, or more, of these following Reasons: Either, first, because it is forbidden by some exprefs Law of God; Or, 2dly. because it makes us *Accomplices* in the *Injustice*; Or, 3dly. because of the *Oath of Canonical Obedience*, which the inferior Clergy have taken to their Bishop, and the inferior Bishops to their Archbishop; Or, lastly, because, as one of our Adversaries, the learned *Vindicator*, contends, such a Bishop as is placed in the room of one Depos'd by the Civil Authority, is in reality *no Bishop*. These Objections I shall consider distinctly.

§. 6. First, It is not against any Law of God. For as to our Case, the Scripture is altogether silent. 'Tis true, it Commands us to be obedient to our Governors, and that Command reaches as well to the *Spiritual* as to the *Temporal*: But when there are two that stand Competitors, and both claim our Obedience; to which of those two our Obedience ought to be paid? It leaves to our Wisdom to determine.

§. 7. Neither, 2dly. does it make us *Accomplices* in the *Injustice*. For if a Landlord be unjustly and invalidly dispossest'd of his Estate by an Incompetent Authority, who thinks the Tenant an *Accomplice* in the *Injustice*, because he pays his Rent to the present Possessor? Should the Clergy refuse to submit to the Bishops in possession, it could only serve to draw down Ruin upon themselves? Is not obliged to pay to such a superior, but a competent authority & dominion? He is not obliged to pay, because it is demanded by a proper court, tho' unjustly & by

+ It cannot restore those whom the State has deposed. It is not our Submitting to the present Possessors, that ejects the former; for they are already irretrievably Depos'd, since the Supreme Power is peremptory against 'em. That has publickly declar'd, that, whoever are our Bishops, the old ones shall govern us no longer. If we think the Proceeding *unjust*, 'tis enough that we remonstrate against it, and exprefs our dissatisfaction. If that will not doe, the Good of the Publick obliges us to be quiet.

§. 8. Neither, *Thirdly*, is it *sinfull* on the account of the Oath of Canonical Obedience. For that is taken not *absolutely* and *unconditionally*, but with this Supposition, That the Bishop, to whom we take it, has power to govern us. If I take an Oath, to be faithfull or obedient to a Governour, whether *Civil* or *Ecclesiastical*, I engage my self to him as a Governour, that is, as one that can govern. If therefore he can no longer govern, whatsoever the Impediment is, my Obedience is no longer engag'd. As it is in the State, so it is in the Church: The Oath that is taken to a Bishop, as he is the Governour of a Church, is not taken for the sake of the Bishop, but for the Peace and good Order of the Church. 'Tis this was the *Design* of the Church when the order'd such an Oath to be taken. When therefore the Oath tends no longer to the Good of the Church, but *notoriously* to Schism, Disorder, and Confusion, it cannot any longer oblige: but is void of it self, by virtue of the Church's Intent and Design in the first Institution of it.

It is further to be consider'd, that particularly here in the Church of England, the Oath of Canonical Obedience is always taken with this Supposition, That the Civil Power, as well as the Ecclesiastical, do allow the Bishop to govern.

But let us suppose even that which in reason we ought not to suppose: Let us suppose, that the Bishop intended that the Oath should always oblige. Whatsoever was the Intent of the Bishop; That was not the Intent of the Church. And it is the Intent of the Church, not the *private* Intent of the Bishop, that gives an Obligation to the Oath. I add, That should it be both the Intent of the Bishop, and likewise the Intent of the Person who takes the Oath, that it should always oblige; should it run in these exprefs words; *I will always adhere to you, if Depos'd by the Civil Authority, in opposition to him, whosever he be, that shall be put into your place: Should any one, I say, take such an Oath as that, yet he cannot be oblig'd by it. The Oath is in it self unlawfull* 'tis a Sin against the Publick, repugnant to the Will and the Welfare of the Church. It would be in effect to swear thus: *I will for your sake oppose the Welfare of the Publick, and break the Union of the Church; I will leave the Communion of the Church, and adhere to you, tho' I have not any Reason to do so besides this bare Oath.* To conclude; Whatsoever is *notoriously* repugnant to the Church's interest, so as to be necessarily productive of very great Evils, is so far from being obliging, that it would be a Sin to act according to it.

It is granted by our Adversaries, that the Obligation of an Oath of Canonical Obedience ceases, if a Bishop is depriv'd, tho' never so *unjustly* by a Synod: Now what is the Reason of that? 'Tis because to adhere to a Bishop, when a Synod has fully deposed him, and placed another in his See, must occasion a Division in the Church, and disturb the Publick. If that is the Reason, as no one can assign any other, (at least there can be none but what is grounded on that,) then the Reason is the same in both Cases: and consequently in both

Cases

Cases the Oath will be equally void. 'Tis in vain to allege, That in the Case of a *Synod* we cease to be obliged by our Oath, because every Bishop is suppos'd to have oblig'd himself to submit to the Determination of a *Synod*; whether *just* or *unjust*; and therefore when a *Synod* has Depos'd him, tho' by an *unjust* Sentence, his Place is truly void by virtue of his suppos'd *Consent*: For suppos'd a Bishop should have always declar'd, that he never would give his *Consent*, that a *Synod* should have Power to Depose him by an *unjust* Sentence: ought we not however to submit to the new Constituted Bishop? Our Adversaries will tell us, that we ought. But why? 'Tis because the Necessity of Government and the Peace of the Church requires it. Well then; it is certain, that it is not the Bishop's *Consent*, but *Necessity* and *the Good of the Publick* that makes our Oath void.

Tho' in some Respects there is a great deal of Difference between what is done by a *competent* or a *lawfull* Authority, and what is done by an *incompetent* or an *unlawfull* Authority: yet, as to our Acquiescence, in a Case of Necessity, such as is here suppos'd, I can see no Difference at all. The *Obligation to acquiesce* is the same in both Cases, when in both Cases the *Necessity* is the same. If a *Lord* be disposse'd of his *Mannor* by an *Incompetent* Authority that cannot be resist'd, (a *Conqueror*, suppose, or an *unlawfull Court*) Who thinks the Tenant *forsworn* for submitting to the new Possessor? Who makes any difference there between a *Competent* and an *Incompetent* Authority? And why is the *Tenant* in such a Case not *forsworn*? If he cannot (or ought not to) oppose the Intruder, yet ought he not at least to give up his *Estate*, rather than submit and do *Hommage* to the wrong Lord? 'Twill be granted, I presume, by our Adversaries, that he is neither obliged to oppose the *Intruder*, nor yet to give up his *Estate*. But why does the Oath, which he took to the *rightfull* Lord, cease to oblige him? 'Tis because when he took the Oath, he took it only on this Supposition, That the Lord was *Possess'd* of the Mannor. The Peace and Tranquillity of the Publick, and the Good of *Tenants* in general give that *Restriction* to the Oath.

If the Bishop of a *Frontier-Town* will not own the Authority of a *Conqueror*, and is therefore Deposed by that Conqueror, I desire to know of our Adversaries, whether the Clergy of that Town are perjur'd if they own that Bishop whom the Conqueror thinks fit to set over 'em? If a Bishop should by the *Civil Power* be condemn'd to *perpetual* and *close* Imprisonment, or be banish'd *forever* from his Country, so as that it is impossible for him to perform the Duties of a Bishop: or should he be carried away Captive we know not where, or from whence we cannot redeem him: What then? Are we still oblig'd by our Oath, because he was Deposed by no *Synod*? When in the Beginning of the 3d. Century, *Narcissus* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, had secretly withdrawn himself, and no Body knew what was become of him, lest the Church should be without the Assistance of a Bishop, there was presently a new one Ordain'd. How their Bishop was *lost*, they knew not: 'Twas enough that he was gone, and did not any longer Officiate. The Church, says *S. Chrysostom*, cannot be without a Bishop. That he said to his People, when he himself was to be carried away into Banishment; and on that account he adviſes 'em to accept of another for their Bishop.

* Euseb. Hist. Eccl.
l. 6. c. 10.

I easily foresee what will be the Reply of our Adversaries. They will tell us, That in such Cases we ought to presume, that the Bishop gives his *Consent* that his Successor should be acknowledged: That therefore the Oath does no longer oblige, because there is a rational Presumption, that the *banish'd*, the *imprison'd*, or the *captive Bishop*, and He of the *Frontier Town*, do remit the Obligation of it. To this I answer: 1. It is indeed to be presum'd, that a good Bishop, one that can say with *S. Gregory, then Bishop of C.P.

I seek not yours, but you, will readily forego his own Interest for the Welfare and Prosperity of his Flock: And

*Orat. 28. ἵνα τοῦ τὰ ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' ὑμῶν.

since our ejected Bishops, who are (I am fully perswaded) very worthy and good Men, and real Lovers of their People, have never by any publick signification of their Will, laid claim to the Obedience of their People, and do not now exercise their Episcopal Power as before; ^{in reason we ought} to presume that they give their Consent that their Successors should be acknowledged. But, 2dly. let it be supposed, that the ousted Governor does expressly assure his Inferiors, that he *does not* give his Consent, but still lays Claim to their Obedience. Suppose the *conquer'd*, the *banish'd*, the *imprison'd*, or the *captive* Bishop should charge his People expressly upon their Oath never to accept of any other Bishop as long as by the common Course of Nature he himself may be supposed to be living, or till they be assur'd he is dead: Let this I say be supposed, (and easy it is to be supposed,) What must be done in such Cases? Is the Church *perjur'd* if she accepts of another? Will our Adversaries say that she is? *A hard Saying! Who can bear it?* This Presumption of the ejected Governor's Consent is (I know) what is commonly alleg'd by some very learned and otherwise judicious Men, as the true and the only foundation of Acquiescence when the lawfull Governor is unjustly Depos'd by a Power *incompetent*: But that that is not the true and the only foundation, these Difficulties which I have alleg'd do (me-thinks) abundantly demonstrate. Other Men I must leave to their own ways of Thinking. For my part, I cannot imagine, that the Welfare and Prosperity of Mankind does depend upon so *ricklish* and uncertain a Point as that of an ejected Governor's Consent: That, if he refuses to give his Consent, all the Church or the Nation must be made a Sacrifice to him. It is easy to discover, upon how false a Principle that Notion is built. It is grounded on this, That the Oath that is taken to the Governor, is taken *only* for his sake; when if the true End and Design of Government were duely and impartially consider'd, it would be found (as above I observ'd) that the Oath that is taken to the Governor, is taken not *only* for his Good, but chiefly for the Good of the Publick; and that any Oath taken to a Governor that is *notoriously* and in a high degree repugnant to the Good and Prosperity of the Publick, so as to be necessarily productive of intolerable Evils, is in its own Nature void; because by the Publick it was never design'd that in such a Case it should oblige.

By the Author of a Treatise entitled; *Unity of Priesthood necessary to the Unity of Communion*, there are two Examples produced, to shew how obervant the Antients were of their Oath of Canonical Obedience; which the Author calls *eminent Instances*, and proposes 'em to the Consideration of the Bishops of our Church, and wishes they would seriously apply 'em. The first is that of Ivo Bishop of Chartres in France, who flourish'd about 600 years ago. He being one of the *Suffragans* of the Archbishop of Sens, was desired by the Bishop of

Lyons, who was likewise the Pope's Legate, to assist him at the Consecration of the Bishop of *Nivers*: But the Bishop of *Nivers* being a *Suffragan* to the said

* In those days the Pope's power of Ordaining Bishops in another District, without the Consent of the Metropolitan, was not own'd by the Western Church.

Archbishop of *Sens*; and that Archbishop having * never given his Consent that the Bishop of *Lyons* should Ordain a Bishop of his District, *Leo* refuses to assist at the Consecration: And this is the reason he gives for it; Because if he should engage in such an undertaking, he should be unfaithfull to his own *Metropolitan*, and betray the Privileges allow'd that Church by the Canons as a Metropolitan Church, which by Oath he was oblig'd to maintain: *Reus fieret violata sponsonis quam Sedi Metropolitana fecerat*. If the Archbishop of *York* had pretended to Constitute a Bishop of the Province of *Canterbury*, without the Consent of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and a *Suffragan* of the Province of *Canterbury* had assisted in that Ordination, our Bishops would then have been able to apply this eminent Instance. But as the Case stands, they know not, I believe, how to do it: And the Author is desired, that he himself, if he can, would be pleas'd to apply it. The other Instance is that of the Bishops of our own Country in the Reign of *William II*. There arising a great Difference between the King and *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury* about acknowledging the Pope, Whether the Archbishop could lawfully do it without the King's Consent? The Matter was refer'd to the Parliament, and the Bishops being by the King requir'd to deprive the

(a) *Dolemus quod animo tuo, Domine, satisfacere non valeamus. Primas est non modo istius regni, sed & Scotiae, & Hiberniae, necnon adiacentium Insularum, nosque Suffraganei ejus, unde patet nos rationabiliter eum judicare vel damnare nullatenus posse, etiamsi aliqua culpa in eo, qua modo non valet, possit ostendi. P. 30.*

(b) They had before promis'd the King to Deprive *Anselm*; but, I know not how, on a sudden they took up that Opinion, which before was never heard of amongst the Bishops of England: *Protinus intellexerunt* (saith *Eadmerus*, who was there present) *quod prius non animadvertenter, nec ipsum advertere posse putaverunt; viz. Archiepiscopum Cant. à nullo hominum, nisi à solo Papâ, judicari posse vel damnari, nec ab aliquo cogi pro quâvis calumniâ cuiquam, eo excepto, contra suum velle respondere. P. 29.*

(c) *At Rex, Quid igitur restat? Si eum judicare non potestis, nonne faciem omnis obedientiae fidem*

Archbishop, they answer'd, saith *Eadmerus*, (a) That that they could not do, because he was their *Metropolitan*. 'Tis hard to conjecture what our Author intended by proposing this Example as worthy Consideration: unless it be that an Archbishop of *Canterbury* should be now above all Deprivation. He contends in his Treatise, that a Bishop ought not to be Deprived, but by Bishops; and hereby producing this Example (if he means any thing at all) he intimates, That an Archbishop cannot be Deprived by the Bishops his *Suffragans*, because of their Oath of Obedience. But whatever was our Author's meaning: certain it is, that it was not because of the Oath of Obedience that the Bishops refus'd to Deprive *Anselm*, as the King would have had 'em; but because they had at (b) that time an Opinion amongst 'em, that a *Primate* or *Metropolitan* could be judg'd and depriv'd by no one but the Pope. So far were they from thinking themselves oblig'd by their Oath not to Deprive him, that it's very (c) notorious, that, tho' he was not Depriv'd, yet they threw off all Obedience, and renounced their *Subjection* to him.

ac fraternæ societatis amicitiam ei denegare potestis? Hoc quidem, inquit, quoniam jubes, facere possumus. Properate igitur & quod dicitis citius facite, ut cum videris se à cunctis despectum ac desolatum verecundetur & ingemiscat se Urbanum, me Domino suo contempto, secutum. Et quo ista securius faciatis, En ego primum in imperio meo penitus ei omnem securitatem, & fiduciam mei tollo, ac deinceps in illo vel de illo nulla in causâ considero, vel cum pro Archiepiscopo aut Patre spirituali tenere volo. — Sociatis sibi Abbatibus (adds Eadmerus) Episcopi retulerunt Patri quod dixerat Rex, suam, pro voto illius, abnegationem ingerentes. — Cum propterea (answers the Archbishop) quod me ad B. Petri Principis Apostolorum subjectionem ac fidelitatem teno, mihi omnem subjectionem, fidem, & amicitiam, quam Primati vestro & Patri spirituali debetis, abnegatis, non recte proceditis.

§. 9. We are next to consider that Objection which is made by the learned *Vindicator*, That a Bishop put into the place of another, deposed by the Lay-power, is in reality *no Bishop*. If this is true, then it must be granted, that we cannot be oblig'd for the sake of Union and Peace, to adhere to the present Possessor. This indeed is the Difference between our *Civil* and our *Ecclesiastical* Governors. The former are purely *Governors*, and nothing more is required in them but to be capable of *Governing*; The latter are not onely *Governors*, but are likewise the *Administrators* of Sacraments, and the sole *Orainers* of the Clergy. It is therefore necessary, not onely that the Ecclesiastical Governor should be duly qualified for Government, but that he should be likewise endued by God Almighty with the Power of Ordaining, and of administering the holy Sacraments. Thus much must be granted: Let us now see what Argument the *Vindicator* can produce to degrade our present Possessors, and to prove 'em *no Bishops*. It is nothing but a Saying of S. Cyprian that is nothing at all to his Purpose. The Saying is this: That a *second Bishop* is *no Bishop*. 'Tis strange methinks, that so great and so worthy a Man, should pretend to raise so great and so extraordinary a Structure upon so weak a Foundation. The Occasion of the Saying was this: *Novatian*, a private Presbyter, had rais'd a Schism against *Cornelius* the lawful Bishop of *Rome*; he had got himself to be ordain'd Bishop, tho' *Cornelius* had never been depos'd, was still the *Possessor*, and acknowledg'd the true and the onely Bishop of *Rome* by all the Churches of the World, both the *Western*, the *Eastern*, and the *African*; and *Novatian* was by all condemn'd as a rank and notorious Schismatick. S. Cyprian, who was always very zealous for the Unity of the Church, thus expresses himself, in his Epistle to (a) *Antonianus*, concerning him. *Cornelius*, says he, being possess'd of the See according to the Will of God, and confirm'd in it by the Consent of us all; whoever would now be a Bishop of that See, must needs be out of the Church; neither can he have any Ecclesiastical Orders, who does not continue in Unity with the Church. Whosoever he is, whatsoever he may boast of himself or pretend to, he is a prophane Person, an Alien, and not of the Church: And since there cannot be a second Bishop, where another is al-

(a) Epist. 55. Quo (gradu Cathedralis Sacerdotalis) occupato de Dei voluntate, atque omnium nostram consensione firmato; quisquis jam Episcopus fieri voluerit, foris fiat necesse est; nec habeat Ecclesiasticam Ordinationem qui Ecclesie non teneat unitatem; quisquis ille fuerit multum de se licet jactans, & sibi plurimum vindicans; profanus est, alienus est, foris est. Et cum post primum secundus esse non possit; quisquis post unum qui solus esse debeat, factus est; non jam secundus ille, sed nullus est.

ready in possession; whosoever is made Bishop after another, who ought to be alone, he is not a second, but none. This is the place out of which the learned *Vindicator* is pleas'd to draw his Argument; with how *Logical* an Inference the judicious Reader may see. 'Tis strange that That excellent Person should be so much blinded with Prejudice, as not to be able to discover how vast a difference there is between the Case of our present Bishops, and that of which *S. Cyprian* discourses. Had *Cornelius* been deposed by the Emperor for refusing to acknowledge his Authority, we have all the reason in the world to believe, That his Deprivation would have been lookt upon by *S. Cyprian* as very reasonable and just. But let us still grant, as we first supposed in our Question, That he ought not to have been deprived by the Emperor himself, but by Bishops: Yet if he had been deprived for refusing to acknowledge the Emperor's Authority; or if he had been upon any other account so deprived by the Imperial Authority, as that it would have been impossible for him to exercise his Episcopal Jurisdiction; Is it possible for any wife and unprejudiced Man to imagine, That *S. Cyprian* would have thought so ill of *Novatian* and his Adherents, as he did? If an Enemy of the Roman Empire, suppose the King of *Persia*, should in *S. Cyprian's* time have taken a Frontier City, and the Bishop of that City should have been deposed by him for refusing to submit to his Authority, Who can believe that That great and wise Man *S. Cyprian*, would have declared a new Bishop no Bishop, and all his Adherents Schismatical? That a second, that is, a Schismatical Bishop, an Invader of a See already fill'd and possess'd, is no Bishop, is confess'd to be *S. Cyprian's* Doctrine: But that our Bishops are, in the Sence of *S. Cyprian*, the Invaders of a See already fill'd and possess'd, that they are *secundi* in his Sence, is what we utterly deny. Not a Word, not a Hint in *S. Cyprian*, from whence such a thing can be infer'd. The *Vindicator* may be pleas'd to consider, that our present Possessors did not set up themselves in opposition to such as were possess'd of their Sees; but before they pretended to be Bishops, their Predecessors were made by the Supreme Civil Power incapable of Governing, i. e. were Depos'd. Again, he ought to consider that our present Possessors were so far from ambitiously invading, like *Novatian*, the Sees of others, that they were all chose by their respective Churches according to the usual manner; viz. in the same manner that their Predecessors themselves had been. Let us hold up the Picture, which the *Vindicator* has been pleas'd to draw, to a true Light; and then we shall the better see what a strange Figure it is. The *Vindicator's* Enthymeme is this:

S. Cyprian says, that he is no Bishop, but a Schismatick, who ambitiously invades a See which another is fully possess'd of. Therefore,

S. Cyprian thought, that he is no Bishop, but a Schismatick, who is chosen by the Church, according to the usual manner, into the place of another, whom the Civil Power will not suffer to govern any longer, because he refuses to own its Authority.

I add, That if a Bishop be a *secundus*, and no Bishop, who is put into the place of one unjustly depos'd by the Civil Authority; then it likewise must follow, that he is a *secundus*, and no Bishop, who is put into the place of another whom

whom a *Synod* has *unjustly* depos'd. But this the learned *Vindicator* will neither himself grant; neither does he, I suppose, believe that *S. Cyprian* thought so. I say that must follow, if we seriously consider the Matter: For the only good Reason assignable, why in the former Case, the *Successor* is a *secundus*, and no *Bishop*, is this; Because the *Predecessor* has still a *Right* to the Bishoprick. Now 'tis certain, that the Reason is the same in the latter Case: For a *Bishop*, whom a *Synod* has *unjustly* depriv'd, has still as much *Right* to his Bishoprick, as a *Bishop* *invalidly* depos'd by the Civil Authority. For to me 'tis absurd, that any *unjust* Sentence should take away the *Right*: tho', the Nature of Government requiring it, it is oftentimes necessary that we should submit to such a Sentence. And this (if I am not mistaken) is the common Sense of Mankind. When a *Bishop* is *unjustly* depriv'd by a *Synod*, we submit to his *Successor*; not because we imagine, that the other has no longer a *Right*, but only for *Peace sake*. That a *Bishop* *unjustly* depriv'd by a *Synod*, has still a *Right* to that Bishoprick, as well as a *Bishop* depos'd by an *Incompetent* Authority, may be clearly demonstrated from this, That after he is deprived, he may be again restor'd, and his *Successor* be depos'd by Appeal to another *Synod*: (and yet the ejected *Successor* is accounted a true *Bishop*;) Now is that done justly or not? There is no one will say it is not: And yet it is impossible that the *Successor* should be *justly* deprived, if the other had no *Right*.

To conclude: That a *Bishop*, who is put into the place of another, unjustly deprived by the Secular Power, is a *real* and *true* *Bishop*, will by and by appear by the Opinion and the Practice of the Antients in general. Let us now proceed to demonstrate, that, as the submitting to a *Bishop*, whose *Predecessor* was unjustly depos'd by the Civil Authority, is not in itself a *Sin*; so the ill Consequences to which it may be liable, are either not so mischievous to the Church, or not so likely to happen as the Evils we endeavour to avoid.

§. 10. The Evils we endeavour to avoid are a *Schism* and a *Persecution*; two Evils as great as can possibly befall the Church. And that those two very great Evils must needs be the certain and the immediate Consequences of a *non-submission*, is too evident to any Considering Man to need any Proof. If the ill Consequences, to which a *submission* may be liable, are so great as those two Evils, but not so certain; or if they are so certain, but not so great, it must then be granted that, with respect to Consequences, a *Submission* is more reasonable than a *Non-submission*. Now if we consider those evil Consequences which may justly be charg'd upon the *Submission*, we shall find that they are so far from being both so great and so certain, that they are neither so great nor so certain, as those two Evils, which, by a *Non-submission*, must unavoidably be brought upon the Church.

So far indeed is the *Principle*, which we maintain, from being necessarily attended with any very ill Consequence, that it is not easy to foresee any Consequence at all that is *Evil*. As it is for the Good, the Peace, and Prosperity of the Church, that we think our selves obliged to comply, upon occasion, with the Necessity of Times: So if ever the Civil Power (which to fear in this Reign would be very unjust and unreasonable) should pretend to break in upon the *Essentials* of the Church, we should then be obliged not to yield to such Impositions. If the *evil Day* must needs come, (which God forbid!) we will keep it off as long as we can. When it necessarily comes, as now we shew our

Prudence, so we'll then prove our *Fortitude*. Not to endeavour to escape from *Damascus* when a *Basket* is fairly offer'd, would be Folly in an *Apostle*: And to run on to *Martyrdom*, when it *honestly* may be avoided, is, according to the *Sanctions* of the Primitive Christians, a *Sin*. Should a Person *absolutely unqualified* be imposed upon us for a Bishop, we are not then to accept him. If a Roman *Decius* would depose all our Bishops, and not permit us to constitute others in their places, that so he may destroy our Religion, we are not then to regard either what he does or commands. As the *Romans*, upon the Martyrdom of *Fabian*, tho' to avoid the Fury of a

* The *Roman* Clergy for that reason deferr'd the Election of *Cornelius* (above 16 Months) as they tell *S. Cyprian* in a Letter; but as soon as the Emperor had left *Rome*, they chose *Cornelius* Bishop.

Persecution, * *Propter rerum & temporum difficultates*, we might possibly deferr the Election; yet as soon as we thought it convenient, we would choose a *Cornelius* Bishop notwithstanding the Tyrant's Decrees. If an *Heretical* King *Frazamund* should command us not to Ordain any Bishops, that so the *Catholic*

Religion may of Course be rooted out, and his *Heresy* only prevail, we would then no more value that Command than the *Catholics* heretofore did; but in spite of his Edict, would get as many Bishops ordain'd as we thought convenient for the Church. But how can our Case be compared with either of these? Here is no forbidding Elections, no deposing all Bishops in general, no imposing *unqualified* Persons, no destroying of Religion, no advancing of *Heresy*. The only Question here is, Whether *Paul* or *Apollos* may be follow'd, when *Cephas* is in *Prison*, and is render'd incapable of acting as an *Apostle*? Our Adversaries are resolv'd to have *Cephas*; If they cannot have him, they will neither have *Christ*. To us 'tis altogether indifferent, whether *Paul*, or *Apollos*, or *Cephas*, as long as we have *Christ*.

There is only one Inconvenience that I can possibly foresee, which can justly be charg'd on this Principle which we advance; and that is this: That by a Submission to the present Possessor, the Civil Governor is like to be encouraged to tyrannize over the Church, and to turn out such Bishops as he does not like, whensoever he pleases, tho' never so unjustly. If that be the Objection of our Adversaries; I answer, First, That the same Inconvenience is in all manner of Government: By submitting to a Bishop who is put into the place of another, whom a *Synod* has unjustly depos'd, that *Synod* may be possibly encouraged to turn out others unjustly, as many as it does not like, tho' never so worthy. Secondly, That here in *England* it is not the Will of the Prince that can turn out a Bishop. He has all the same Securities that another Subject can have, and he cannot be deprived of his Bishoprick without a due Course of Law. If they mean that the King and the *Parliament* may by that be encouraged to Depose our Bishops at pleasure, that Supposition will be wild and extravagant. For who can imagine, that they can ever concur for the Deprivation of a Bishop, but upon a very extraordinary Occasion? There is nothing can be more manifest, than that this Inconvenience is not so likely to happen as those Evils we endeavour to avoid. These are certain and present, That only possible. But, Thirdly, should we grant (what in reason cannot be granted) that it is as likely to happen: yet how great is the Difference? Should the State here, or in other Countries one single absolute Governor, be supposed

is not given
to Bishop.

is not given
to Bishop.

to be so very dissolute, as to turn out frequently the Bishops of the Church without any just Cause; yet who can look upon that Mischief to be comparable to that of a *Schism* and a *Persecution*? What can the suffering of a few particular Men be, when compared to the Peace and Tranquillity of the whole Church besides? Our Adversaries may be pleas'd to consider, That it was not for the Bishops that the Church was establish'd; but the Bishops were appointed for the sake of the Church. It is not therefore the Welfare of the Bishops, as the Bishops are these or those Men, much less of some few particular Bishops, but the Welfare of the whole Church in general that is chiefly to be regarded.

§. 11. And thus, I hope, I have sufficiently made out what I propos'd to prove, That the submitting to a Bishop, who is put into the place of another unjustly depose'd by the Civil Authority, is neither in it self a *Sin*, nor liable to ill Consequences so likely to happen as the Evils we endeavour to avoid; or, if so likely to happen, not so great and pernicious to the Church as those are. From whence it necessarily follows, That such a Submission is in it self highly *reasonable*. Which was the first Proposition we propos'd to be demonstrated. I come now to the Second General propos'd to be made out, That such a Submission is agreeable to the *Practice* of the *Antients*.

§. 12. But before I put an end to this Chapter, and proceed to the Proof of this last Proposition, there remains yet one thing more to be consider'd, and that is the Imputation of *Heresy*, which the learned *Vindicator* is pleas'd to fix upon us. Any Opinion, says the *Vindicator*, on account of which Men separate from their Ecclesiastical Governors, is *Heretical*, tho' it be not in its own nature so: And such an Opinion is not *Heretical onely*, when Men designedly separate from others on that very account, because they are not of that Opinion; but also when they venture on such Practices on account of that Opinion, wherein others cannot communicate with 'em; for that very reason, because they cannot join with 'em in that Opinion. Then plainly the differing in such Opinions, makes a difference of Communion unavoidable; and therefore the Opinions themselves, in such a Case as this is, are Signals of different Communions, which will come under the Charge of *Heresy*. His meaning is, that We, maintaining this Opinion, That the Civil Power has Authority to depose a Bishop for a *Political Crime*; or, if it has no such Authority, when once it has depose'd a Bishop, it is lawfull to acknowledge the Successors; and in consequence of that Opinion, submitting now to the present Possessors, are therefore *Hereticks*, because He and his Party cannot join with us in that Practice, as being of the contrary Opinion. Here it comes into my mind, what *S. Jerom* somewhere says, That he that can with *Patience* hear himself call'd *Heretick*, is no good *Christian*. This is true of those Heresies which were so in the Opinion of the Antients: But in this Case we dare to be patient. *Ego tibi Hereticus tu mihi*: That's all the Return we shall make: The *Vindicator*, in consequence of his Opinion, that the Civil Authority has no power to depose a Bishop; and that if a Bishop is so depose'd, his Successor ought to be rejected, tho' otherwise never so worthy, adheres to the Bishops deprived, and disowns those that are put into their places. In this Practice of the *Vindicator* we cannot join with him; and for that very reason, because we cannot join with him in his Opinion. And what now follows from our Author's Notion of *Heresy*, but that he himself is a *Heretick*? It is nothing at all:

To our Purpose : But for his own sake I shall here take upon me to add, (with a *pace maximi Viri*) That this Notion of *Heresy* is a *groundless* and a *fancysfull* Notion. That he may be properly call'd a *Heretick*, who separates from the Church, because the Church is not of his Opinion, tho' the Opinion is not at all in its own nature Heretical, I grant : For there is a sort of *Heresy* which is not sinful on the account of the Opinion maintain'd, but onely because it is a *separation* from the Church. But this I assert in opposition to what is laid down by the *Vindicator*, That to all *Heresy* (as the word is strictly taken to denote a *Sin* contradistinct to *Schism*) it is necessary that there be an *Opinion* maintain'd; which either the *Church* condemns, or for which the Person that maintains it, does of himself separate from the Church. If it be not for any *Opinion* that the *Vindicator* is divided from the Church, but onely for what is done by the Church, he cannot be call'd, in a strict sence, a *Heretick*, but onely a *Schismatick*.

§. 13. But to wave this Dispute, as not at all material, and to suffer the *Vindicator*, if he pleases, to enjoy his Notion; What now is the Use he would make of it? What is his Design in advancing it? The Use he makes of it is this : He alleges the aforesaid *Heresy* as a Reason for their Separation. He tells us, That we being guilty of *Heresy*, they ought by our own Concessions to keep off from our Communion, because we our selves acknowledge that *Heresy* is a just cause of Separation. *Tho' we should admit*, says he, *that the Author of the Baroccian Treatise had been successfull in all that he has attempted : we may yet justify our adherence to the deprived Bishops, and our Separation from our Adversaries opposite Altars, and justify it too by the Doctrine of their own Author : for even he permits a Separation where Orthodoxy is concern'd, and expressly excepts this Case from the Number of those which he pretends to confute. An Heretical Bishop he calls a false Bishop, &c.* 'Tis strange that the worthy and learned *Vindicator* should be so much out in his *Logick*, as not to see the Inconsistency of what he alleges, and to offer this as a *reason* for their *not communicating* with us ! If it is their *not communicating with us* that makes our Opinion Heretical, and us *Hereticks*; how do they *refuse to communicate with us* for this reason, *because we are Hereticks*? We could not be *Hereticks* according to the *Vindicator's* own Notion, 'till they had *refused to communicate with us*. So dangerous a thing it is, First to do a thing rashly, and then to hunt for a Reason ! If this Plea of our Author is good, I would very fain know how any *Separation* can be proved to be unlawfull. Let our Author stand out a little, and dispute with our old *Dissenters*. He asks a Dissenter, why he separates from the Church? The Dissenter tells him 'tis, because the Church is *Heretical*. But why Heretical? Because she thinks it lawfull to oblige her Members to the use of Ceremonies, and pursuant to that Opinion she actually imposes the use of 'em. In the use of these Ceremonies (says the Dissenter) we cannot join with you; and for that very reason, because we cannot join with you in this Opinion. That the Church has power to impose upon its Members the use of Ceremonies: And because we cannot join with the Church in this Opinion and Practice, upon that very account the Church is *Heretical*. Thus according to our Author's own Plea : but the Plea would be vain and *Illogical*.

§. 14. But this is not all: We are not only *Hereticks* upon that account, but, as the *Vindicator* contends, we are *Hereticks* likewise (as *Heresy* signifies an *erring*) even in *Fundamentals*. He affirms, that our Opinion is a *fundamental Error*, because (as he says) it is utterly destructive of the Church, as the Church is a *Society* distinct from the *State*. To maintain this Opinion, That for *Political Crimes* a Bishop may be lawfully Depriv'd by the Civil Authority: Or this, That supposing he cannot be lawfully so depriv'd; yet if he is deprived, it is lawfull for Peace-sake to submit to his Successor: How that is destructive of the Church, as the Church is a *Society*, I, for my part, cannot perceive. To me 'tis much more apparent, that to advance this Opinion, That a Bishop cannot be deprived by the Civil Authority for *any Crime whatsoever*, is destructive of all *Civil Government*, which, as well as the *Ecclesiastical*, is of God's Institution. He therefore that advances that Notion, advances a very dangerous Notion. But it is not my Business at present to engage in these Disquisitions. I shall only make bold to ask the *Vindicator* a few Questions. If he thinks that Opinion, concerning the Power of the Magistrate, a *fundamental Heresy*, and enough to justify the present *Separation*, how came it to pass that he did not leave the Communion of those, whom he knew to be the Maintainers of that Opinion, before this time? I will ask him one Question more: If the late Bishops should be again restor'd, would he then refuse to communicate with those who advance that Opinion? If he would not; then it is certain, that he does not think that enough to justify the present *Separation*. One more, and then I have done. I desire to know, if our Author knows none of his own Communion, who themselves acknowledge the Power of the Supreme Civil Governor to depose a Bishop for *Political Crimes*? 'Tis strange if he should be ignorant of what every body knows: And it is to be believ'd, that the *Fathers* themselves of his own Communion, at least some of 'em, agree with us in this Opinion, which the *Church of England* has all along to this time accounted *Orthodox*, tho' the *Vindicator* is pleas'd to declare it a *Heresy*.

But enough, and too much, of these Matters. We will leave our much honour'd Adversary to invent some other new Notion more consistent, and more usefull for his Cause: And will now proceed to enquire how *Heretical* our Forefathers were in thinking it lawfull to adhere to the *present* Possessor, and in acting accordingly.